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CORNELII TACITI HISTORIAE

THE HISTORY OF TACITUS

According to the Text of Drelli

EDITED, WITH ENGLISH NOTES AND INTRODUCTION

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BOOKS I. II.

Illum Galbae et Othonis et Vitellii longum et unum annum.

TAC. Dial. de Oratr. c. 17.

RIVINGTONS

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INTRODUCTION.

I.—LIFE AND TIMES OF TACITUS.

THE great historian of the second century of the Roman Empire can hardly be considered one of the authors whose personality has disappeared from the range of knowledge, and whose names serve only as titles for their writings. On the other hand, we have not sufficient materials for a continuous Life of him: the year of his birth can be approximately ascertained, but that of his death is wholly unknown: his descent, parentage, birthplace, and even his personal name, are all uncertain, though, as to these, we have more or less substantial materials for conjecture.

That kindly, pious, versatile man of letters and affairs, St. Sidonius Apollinaris, in one of his Epistles quotes from 'C. Cornelius,' and in another from 'C. Tacitus' (i. 14 *init.*, i. 22). It is therefore plain that in the belief of a well-read man of the fifth century, the historian bore the praenomen Gaius; and there would be no ground for questioning his testimony, but that it is contradicted by another respectable authority, the first Medicean ms., which calls him Publius in the subscription to each of the first three books, as well as in the title, which Ritter ascribed to a later hand. Nipperdey considers the latter authority the higher; but it is hard to guess what should have led Sidonius wrong, while Ritter suggests that a scribe who knew history was used to the combination P. Cornelius. Most recent editors, including Nipperdey himself, think it

safest to omit the praenomen altogether ; all our evidence shows that his contemporaries usually spoke of him without it.

In Pliny's *Natural History*, vii. 17, we hear that a Cornelius Tacitus, Procurator of Belgic Gaul, had an overgrown and imbecile child, who—we are perhaps to understand—died in convulsions at three years old. Now, the cognomen Tacitus is not so common but that the identity of name creates a presumption of relationship between the two men bearing it—perhaps, even, that the elder was the natural or adoptive father of the younger,—though, if the historian's father was a Cornelius, and his mother the sister or daughter of a Tacitus, whether Cornelius or no, this would account for his inheriting the name. If we could be sure that the father of the monstrosity was the father of the historian, there would be a certain interest in the fact, as proving that the elder Pliny was intimate enough with the elder Tacitus to have seen a member of his family who would naturally be kept out of sight ; and thus illustrating the beginnings of the friendship which we know to have existed between their namesakes in the next generation.

With the exception of this presumable relationship, we know nothing of Tacitus' family or descent. But the name Cornelius, undoubtedly borne by him, suggests the question, whether he belonged to a patrician house (though, if so, to an obscure branch of it), or to a family admitted to citizenship in comparatively modern times, presumably by Sulla. It is consistent with either view, that his family should have been of equestrian rank—neither nobles nor parvenus—as we may conclude it to have been, not only from his supposed relationship to the Procurator, but from his own statement in *Hist.* i. 1. 4, which implies that he had no hereditary claim to be admitted to the Senate. On the one hand, there were branches of the oldest houses (*e.g.* of the Octavii) that never

entered the Senate; and again we hear of another Cornelius (*Hist.* ii. 86. 5), who, whether patrician or not, *senatorium ordinem exuerat*. If an ancestor of Tacitus' had done the same, two or three generations back, it is intelligible that a man who had abdicated nobility without forfeiting respectability, should be mentioned with the respect he retained, but without allusion to the pretensions he had renounced, which, in his present modest condition, it might be ridiculous to remember. On the other hand, Julius Graecinus (*Agr.* 4. 1) was no patrician Julius, but merely a citizen of the *vetus et illustris Foro juliensium colonia*; yet he inherited and married into an *equestris nobilitas*, and, without exciting astonishment, attained and bequeathed a senatorial. Now Tacitus' citizenship was in any case a generation older than his father-in-law's; it may therefore have been regarded as old, and have enabled him, without vanity or affectation, to assume the tone of a genuine Roman, and one of no mean birth.

The truth is, that the question of the origin of Tacitus' family is less important than it looks, being quite distinct from the more interesting question of its social position at his birth. By his time the historical nobility of Rome was disappearing, though the aristocratical tradition, which the early Emperors had more or less respected, was not recognised to be growing obsolete. The Nobility in the technical sense—the hierarchy of office—had become even more systematised under the Empire than in the most oligarchical days of the Republic; but the old Senatorial oligarchy, which had been shaken and discredited by the Gracchi and Marius, and had been to some extent liberalised and reformed at its restoration by Sulla, was utterly disorganised in the Caesarian Civil Wars. Julius had introduced the principle of *la carrière ouverte aux talents*, the denial of which had alienated his uncle; Augustus saw that, this principle being

established, it was safer to mould the Senate by its means than to assert it against a hostile Senate. The consequence was, that the Senate ceased to be an aristocracy of birth, without ceasing, any more than the English House of Lords, to feel itself one. Every one whose father had been a Senator was *ipso facto* noble; old nobility had a sentimental advantage over new; but the only distinction between senator and senator that carried any practical advantage was the distinction, not of the date of the first honours gained by the family, but of the height of the last. *Pater consularis, avus praetorius* put Otho on a level, as a candidate for the Principate, with a Crassus and a Piso. Vitellius was indebted, as Tacitus says, to his father's eminence for his consulship, his priesthoods, his name and place in the foremost ranks; some said he was indebted to the same cause for his ancient pedigree; but whether his pedigree was ancient or modern made no difference to his being made Emperor.

There was also a special and comparatively recent influence at work to counteract any surviving reverence for the old nobility above the new. Julius and Augustus had admitted old families to the Patriciate; Claudius¹ and Vespasian began the admission of distinguished individuals belonging to new ones. It does not follow because the Patriciate had long ceased to have any political significance, that this deliberate revival of it was without political effect. Under the early Empire, a Drusus, an Ahenobarbus, or a Piso had been, in his own eyes, and in those of his class, as much the natural equal of a Caesar or a Nero as he had been under the Republic, though there might be a few priesthoods to which he was ineligible. But to a man of a respectable and re-

¹ He admitted personal claims, and did not look back more than a generation for hereditary; *Ann.* xi. 25. 3. Vespasian, as far as appears, considered personal claims only.

spected family in a municipal town, whether in or beyond Italy, it was perhaps even more significant when he was admitted to the honorary privileges of a *civis optimi juris*, than when he was admitted to the more substantial ones. For a man from, suppose, Northern Italy, of Tuscan or Gallic descent, to be made Senator or Consul, proved only that the Empire was becoming cosmopolitan ; but it seemed to prove that the man was himself become a true Roman, when he learnt that he might leave a son qualified to act as Flamen to Juppiter or Quirinus. In this way the extension of the Patriciate had the same effect as that of the Senatorial nobility: it served to prolong the tradition that Rome was an aristocratical community, after the reality of aristocratical exclusiveness had disappeared. If, from one point of view, we may say that the Senate was strengthened and its authority saved by receiving new blood like the English House of Peers, from another we may say that the new creations tended to reconcile the sentiments and aspirations of rival classes, like the titles of nobility granted by Napoleon.

Whether Tacitus himself received the Patriciate, assuming that he did not inherit it, it would be idle to conjecture ; but the fact that his *dignitas a Domitiano longius provecta* included a priesthood, as well as his uniform tone in speaking of priestly appointments, seems to show that we are not wrong in assigning importance to these merely honorary distinctions, as a means whereby new families were enabled, at least after a generation or two, to fall into their places among the ancient nobility. Another thing to be remembered is, that the new families admitted by political or religious office into Roman nobility might be, and often were, old and eminent already in their own towns. Just as Roman citizenship diffused itself, till it included all that was dignified in Italy and the Provinces, so a process of centralisation went on correlative to the diffu-

sion, because every one in Italy who had any sense of his own dignity was drawn to Rome as the only place that offered a career worthy of him. One other career, no doubt, there was open to the local notable, viz., the army; and it was by military service only that the notables of the Provinces had yet begun to rise. But the traditions of the Republic had still so much force, that the civil and military careers were intertwined in the case of aspirants to eminence; the manipulars and centurions were a class apart from the mass of the citizens, but the tribunes and legates of the legions were not a class apart from, scarcely a separate profession among, the mass of the minor nobility. It was expected that a young noble should serve a campaign or two before he entered the Senate, just as it was expected that he should make himself heard in the Law Courts; this custom must have softened the feeling of surprise when a person, whose name had only been heard as that of a soldier, came forward as an aspirant for civil distinction,¹ and, as time went on, even to the Principate (cf. *Hist.* i. 84. 10).

On the whole, then, it is likeliest that Tacitus came of a respectable family—from what part of Italy² is unknown—which had received Roman citizenship from Sulla, and had since then maintained with dignity, perhaps with distinction, the equestrian rank to which its wealth entitled it.

The date of his birth can be more easily, though only in-

¹ νεανίσκος Ἰούλιος Καλονάστρος, κεχίλιαρχηκώς ἐς βουλείας ἐλπίδα.—*Dio*, lxxvii. 11. 4.

² It seems a very rash inference that C. Cornelius Tacitus must have been a native of Interamna because his descendant M. Claudius Tacitus was so. From the difference of gentile name, the descent was probably in a female line; indeed, such seems to have been the opinion of the good people of Terni, who put up a monument to their supposed townsman Cornelius, on which not only Claudius Tacitus, but his uterine brother Annii Florianus, are called his descendants.

directly, ascertained. He speaks of himself as *juvenis admodum* in A.D. 74-5, the professed date of the Dialogue, now generally held to be rightly ascribed to him; as *juvenis* when, three years later, he married the daughter of Agricola; he was, apparently, of senatorial age before Vespasian's death in July 79; he was Praetor under Domitian in 88. His friend Pliny says that they were *aetate et dignitate propemodum aequales*, and tells, on Tacitus' own authority, a story which implies that a personal stranger could not guess from their appearance which of them he was talking to; on the other hand, when Tacitus said that the two looked over each other's unpublished works 'like fellow-pupils or mutual teachers,' Pliny replied that he was the pupil and Tacitus the teacher, and makes the somewhat more definite statement, *equidem adolescentulus, cum jam tu fama gloriaque floreres, te sequi . . . concupiscebam* (Plin. *Ep.* vii. 20. 4. viii. 7. 1). Pliny's compliments to his correspondents are no doubt rhetorical, but we have no reason to suppose them insincere; at any rate, mock modesty is the last form of insincerity that he can be charged with. It is therefore plain, that Tacitus must have been by some years the elder of the two, and the earlier in gaining personal distinction; indeed, it is not too much to surmise that he, already eminent for his speeches, and perhaps for writings of which the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* is the sole surviving specimen, succeeded to the place left vacant in the young student's mental Heroum, by his uncle's death at Vesuvius.

All these notes of time concur to prove that the birth of Tacitus cannot fall much earlier, nor any later, than the first half of the year 54 A.D. Most commentators, indeed, seem to think the date fixed on both sides, assuming that Tacitus would attain the quaestorship at the earliest legal age, or desiring to minimise the interval between his birth and Pliny's. The first assumption falls to the ground, if we

believe Tacitus not to have been of senatorial family ; he may, as Ritter says, have enjoyed the *inoffensus honorum cursus*, but he had first to win, by his own merits, the first step upon it. The second argument, though deserving more consideration, is hardly decisive ; it is rather curious that a man of perhaps thirty-seven should say to a man of forty-seven that they were nearly of an age, but it does not materially lessen the difficulty if we reduce the difference of their years from ten to eight. Pliny, we know, was born in A.D. 61-2, and began to practise in the Forum at nineteen ; now by that time we know, from Tacitus' own words, that his position was established and his steady rise begun ; he may have been only twenty-six, but is as likely to have been a year or two older.

We may thus venture to begin the story of Tacitus' life as known to us with his birth in A.D. 52 or soon after. He must have assumed the *toga virilis* either during or immediately after the 'long year' of the Civil Wars, and, though not an immediate spectator of their events, must in all likelihood have been competent to observe and remember the current of popular feeling during their course, at least in his own neighbourhood and among his own class.

It would be interesting if we could be sure that his childhood had been passed, in part, in Northern Gaul ; it would not only help to account for the existence of his invaluable tract on Germany, but would also connect itself with the length and vigour of his description of the revolt of Civilis, of which he seems, more fully than either contemporary or later historians, to have discerned the fatal significance. Civilis was scarcely an Alaric, or at any rate the Batavians of the first century were a very different nation from the Goths of the fifth ; and the rash, vain, soft-hearted Sabinus was as ridiculous a precursor as could well be imagined for Theodoric or Charlemagne ; yet the Germano-Gallic revolt con-

ducted by them was a presage, what in theological language is called a type,¹ of the process by which the Empire was broken up. It showed, on the one hand, that the Barbarians beyond its borders were not incapable of assuming the aggressive, and, on the other, that the Romanised Barbarians within them were beginning to distinguish between the Roman civilisation and discipline, to which they owed everything, and the dominion of Rome, which they felt as an external and removable burden. The speech of Cerealis at Treves is an attempt to confound the two, but it reads as though the historian who composed it was conscious that he was embodying a sophism.

That Tacitus at some period of his life gained personal acquaintance with the German frontier, may be considered almost certain; that it may have dated from boyhood is not unlikely, but the known facts of his early manhood imply an education and social connections scarcely consistent with a very long absence from Rome. We find him there when at most two-and-twenty, enjoying the *entrée* to the best literary society of the capital. Of course, indeed, the *Dialogue* is not to be regarded as a faithful record of an actual conversation, such as could only be obtained if each speaker's words were taken down in short-hand, or at least written out from memory by the reporter before bed-time. But we are plainly meant to regard as historical the fact of Maternus' recitation of his *Cato* at the date given, and, with so many precedents in Plato and Cicero for the second-hand form of reporting a dialogue, it would have been gratuitously absurd for the author to pretend to have been personally

¹ It would be out of place here to discuss the grounds on which the Apocalypse is now generally assigned to this period. But it is worth remembering, in relation to the seer's apparent anticipation of an immediate fulfilment of his visions, that the year 69-70 witnessed a symbolical fall of 'Babylon,' as well as the actual judgment on 'Sodom and Egypt.'

present if it had been physically impossible—gratuitously impertinent if it had been morally impossible—that he should at that time have visited Maternus in his private room.

The *Dialogue* is plainly the work of a man who had experience of the fashionable system of training in an unreal rhetoric, which his Messala so earnestly condemns. At the same time, educational systems are generally condemned by those who have indeed been brought under them, but too late, or for too short a time, to be moulded by them; and the temper and opinions of Tacitus, as expressed in the *Dialogue*, possibly also the eccentricities of his later style, are such as would be explained on the hypothesis that his training as a speaker, though adequate, had been desultory or interrupted, whether from the distractions of the Civil Wars, from his father's provincial engagements, or from some cause beyond the reach not only of our knowledge but of our conjectures.

Both the matter and form of the *Dialogue* show that at the time of its composition the paramount influence on the young orator's growing mind was that of Cicero and his contemporaries, and we may presume that as a speaker, no less than as a writer, he acknowledged these as more or less his models. His reputation must have been gained rapidly. He can hardly have been above twenty-five when the Consul, Julius Agricola, selected him as the husband for his only daughter. In a man like Agricola, of warm domestic affections, this choice may be considered a testimony to the virtuous and amiable character of its object; but it doubtless also implies that his established position or well-assured prospects were of the most brilliant order. A month or two after the betrothal, in the beginning of the year 78, the marriage took place, and it is implied that it was a happy one by two or three hints, not less trustworthy, because more delicate, than Pliny's elaborate list of his second wife's virtues in a published

letter to her aunt. How many children were born is not recorded ; Nipperdey infers that there were none at Agricola's death, because none are mentioned in *Agr.* 46. 3. If he is right, the descendants whom Tacitus undoubtedly left must have been by a second wife, or by adoption ; but the argument seems unsound. The eldest child could not have seen his grandfather after he was eleven, and may not have been grown up when the *Life* was published—either quite a sufficient reason why he should not be included in the dedication with his mother and grandmother.¹ The family continued to exist till the fifth century : the Emperor M. Claudius Tacitus (born A.D. 200) boasted of his descent from the historian, and Sidonius Apollinaris compliments his friend Polemius on the same descent in a passage already cited (*Ep.* i. 14 *init.*)

It was either just before or shortly after his marriage that Tacitus was admitted by Vespasian to the quaestorship, and so to the Senate. During the short reign of Titus he received some step of promotion, presumably the tribunate or aedileship, which were now (*Dio* lii. 20) alternatives in the series of offices. We have seen already that it is a fair inference from Pliny's language that before Titus' death his position was unrivalled. The publication of the *Dialogue* is referred to this time ; the depreciation of modern oratory with which it commences would come in better taste from a man who had already gained such oratorical fame as the time afforded, than from an aspirant to it ; and the complimentary allusion to Vespasian is perhaps rather such as would be natural in his son's day than in his own, while, on the other hand, it seems to be proved by *Agr.* 2. 3, 3. 2, that during Domitian's reign Tacitus wrote or published nothing. Certainly that passage is hardly consistent with his having taken so bold a

¹ The words *nos domum tuam* in 46. 1 do seem to imply grandchildren of Agricola : a son-in-law was hardly a member of the *domus*.

step as to write a book whose motive is sympathy with a man whom the reigning Emperor put to death for his poetical republicanism, and calling attention to the fact that his wiser father had refused to take notice of the offence.

It is indeed evident, that though Tacitus felt ill at ease under the suspicious rule of Domitian, he never came into direct collision with him, nor excited his displeasure. On the contrary, his advance was more marked than before; in A.D. 88 he was Praetor, and having received, probably at the same time, a place among the Quindecimviri, he officiated in the direction of the Secular Games celebrated in that year. Next year he left Rome, no doubt for a provincial government, but we have no evidence what his province was. Ritter thinks, from *Hist.* iv. 82. 1, that he had visited Egypt; it is true that Egyptian priests were to be found in plenty nearer home, but perhaps his language there, and in *Hist.* ii. 2. 4, is that of a man who had collected on the spot information not generally accessible. But it is, as Ritter says, scarcely possible that he, a Praetorian Senator, should have administered Egypt, scarcely even that he should have visited it, under a jealous ruler like Domitian; see *Ann.* ii. 59. 4. A more popular conjecture is, that he held either the Province of Belgic Gaul (with which he may have had a family connection,—but this would be rather a disqualification than otherwise in Domitian's eyes) or one of those of the German frontier, in which, apparently, only one of the legates was usually of consular rank. It is said in reply to this conjecture, that there were many persons at Rome, or wherever else Tacitus may have lived, who, having held military or civil offices in Germany, had opportunity to collect the information given in Tacitus' book on that country. But while there were many Romans who had the opportunity for such observation, it may be doubted if there was any,

except Tacitus himself, capable of using the opportunity to so good purpose; a few might have been found with the patience for collecting facts, but none with equal scientific talent for collecting the instructive ones. The really wonderful thing in the *Germany* is, not the literary merit, far less the general sentiments of the author, but the liberality and insight which discerned the interest, historical, psychological, and even political, of the customs and institutions of the great Barbarian nation. It is a great proof of Tacitus' genius that he should have discerned this interest when he saw the things; but it could only have been by a scarcely credible inspiration, that he should have discerned it from the second-hand evidence of men of whom the elder Pliny was the ablest.

The composition of the *Germany*, then, may be considered as evidence of a visit to that country; a smaller point may serve to corroborate it. In *Hist.* iv. 23. 1 we have the situation of the Old Camp described in detail; yet its topography had no great influence on the course of its successive sieges, and the works, weak as they were, proved sufficient to repel the enemy till the garrison were exhausted with hunger. Under these circumstances, it is scarcely likely that Tacitus should have written the passage referred to from the information of another; but if he knew the ground himself, his giving a short description of it is accounted for.

We may therefore admit it as probable that Tacitus was Proprætor of one of the Gallo-German provinces, since he appears to have visited the country, and is not likely to have done so in a private capacity. His absence from Rome, probably from Italy, lasted at least four years; he was out of reach when his father-in-law died in August 93.

Whatever his previous relations with Domitian, they from this time assumed a character of settled though suppressed hostility. He probably heard at once of Agricola's death

and of the suspicions that the Emperor had been accessory to it; afterwards, though he was too candid to say that there was any substantial grounds for these suspicions, he could not shake off the prejudice that had been aroused by them. Agricola doubtless was, as he looked, so good a man that you were glad to be told he was a great one; his son-in-law had quite made up his mind that he *was* a great man, and thought that, if he had failed to achieve any great work, that must be because he had been unjustly repressed by the fault of others. And in truth it would doubtless have been wise, and might have left some substantial results, if Domitian had left him longer in his command in Britain;—routine tradition justified his recall, but there was no practical reason for it, except a jealousy which was probably unreasonable, certainly in fact unfounded. Or, if we admit the length of Agricola's actual command, and the small importance of conquests in Caledonia, as a sufficient reason for withdrawing him from Britain, a sovereign who 'loved a man' would undoubtedly have employed him in Dacia. Yet when he was *crebro apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus*, we may see that Domitian's jealousy did not, even when encouraged from without, amount to active or, at least, deadly suspicion, and in the few years that followed, there was less than nothing to arouse suspicion in Agricola's conduct. It is, of course, possible that Domitian, though not prepared to murder an innocent and popular man, may have felt a dishonourable anxiety to know whether fate might rid him of one whom he feared, but is at least equally possible, as Tacitus seems to admit, that he was sincerely anxious not to lose the only eminent man whom even he had learnt that he could trust. Domitian had real faults more than enough; Tacitus allows them to throw a shadow over his dealings with Agricola, which, in all likelihood, were as frank as his nature allowed.

Tacitus' absence from Rome does not seem to have lasted long after this time. It is possible that after his provincial government expired, he found opportunity for an antiquarian tour in the East; such a prolongation of his absence would suit what seems to have been his view of the part of a wise man, to 'keep silence in the evil time,' and avoid being either the instrument or the victim of a tyrant. It is implied also, in *Agr.* 3. 4, that he had written, or at least planned, the *Histories* before the revolution which made it safe to publish them, and their composition may have been as easy and more secure elsewhere than at Rome. Yet it seems to be the plain sense of *Agr.* 45. 1 that he was present when the Senate was compelled to vote the condemnation of Helvidius, Mauricus, Senecio, and Arulenus Rusticus, during the two or three last years of Domitian's life; it might be added that he seems to reproach himself for having submitted to the compulsion. On the other hand, his language about the *delatores* is always that of a man who had kept his own hands clean, and in *Agr.* 2. 1 he speaks of the death of the two last of those just mentioned as known to him only from books, or, as Ritter suggests, from letters and from the public gazettes. We have to decide whether it is less likely that in c. 45 Tacitus identifies himself entirely with his order, and holds himself responsible for what they did in his absence, or that in c. 2 he identifies himself with his readers, and affects to share their remoteness from what he must have known personally.

However this question may be decided, it may be taken for granted that Tacitus neither sacrificed his self-respect to Domitian, nor risked his life by opposing him, as his friend Pliny (*Ep.* vii. 33) was proud of having done. But, like every one throughout the Empire, he felt Domitian's death and the accession of Nerva as a relief; in truth, he belonged to the class that had most to gain by it. When he con-

gratulates Rome and himself upon Nerva's reconciliation of two things formerly incompatible, the Empire and liberty, the sentence is neither a flourish of rhetoric nor a courtly commonplace; if we want to put the sentiment in a form that shall bring out its weaker side, we may say that it is as though our own Junius had announced the discovery, that office was not absolutely incompatible with patriotism. Under the hereditary Caesars—for the Flavian dynasty had been even more strictly hereditary than the Claudian—the Senate had indeed been the second power in the State, but it had been chronically out of harmony with the first, and therefore had been by various means neutralised and repressed. A statesman who wished the Senate to be supreme, or even to manifest an independent activity, found himself permanently condemned to 'the cold shade of opposition,' and this, in the Roman climate, was a situation very dangerous to health and life. Now, under Nerva, as partly under Galba and Vespasian, the Senatorial party found that they were 'in,' and enjoyed their triumph all the more, in proportion to the time they had been 'out.' But they had been equally exultant almost thirty years before (*Hist.* i. 4. 3); and it is worth inquiring why the earlier triumph lasted only for six months, and the later for more than eighty years,—for at first sight, there could not be a closer parallel to the proclamation of Nerva than that of Galba. An old man, of honourable birth and character, had been made the organ of the Senate for directing the armies of the State; the only consequence was, that the armies had declined to be directed by the Senate at all. Even Galba's own troops, who had outrun the Senate in declaring for their general, grew weary of him as soon as they learnt that they themselves were to gain nothing by their services but the credit of disinterested patriotism. They fraternised with the household troops of

Nero, and the other forces casually present in the city, in proclaiming a pretender of their own; they easily destroyed the Senate's emperor, and the Senate was not slow in acknowledging theirs. But meanwhile, on every one of the military frontiers of the Empire, with two exceptions, a more or less formidable pretender had appeared. In Africa, in Germany, in Judaea and the East, either soldiers or generals thought that they had as good a right as the one legion of Spain or Gaul to appoint an emperor, though sometimes the two disagreed as to the fitness of the general on the spot to be appointed. In Illyricum and in Britain there was happily no general of energy or popularity sufficient to qualify him for a pretender; the latter army acquiesced in the choice of their nearest neighbours, the former at first in that of the capital, afterwards in that of the East. For a whole year there was virtual anarchy; the Senate could only get their name respected by lending it to the nearest or the last victorious of the military claimants. It was treated with decent respect by Otho, with something more by Vitellius and Vespasian, but no Senator could help feeling that their power rested on the army, and that the influence of his own body, though a real one, existed only on sufferance.

Domitian had insulted the Senate by his domestic conclaves at Alba, before he began to oppress or to thin the order. Coming after active and successful generals like his father and brother, it is remarkable that he, though not personally active nor uniformly successful, seems to have retained a genuine popularity with the army; the explanation probably is, that what was wanting to him in military fame, he made up, partly by a sincere desire for it, and partly by a politic devotion to military interests. The course of the revolt of Saturninus, and the measures adopted on its repression, seem to show that the army of Germany was only engaged in it

by its general against the soldiers' will; the army of Dacia, so far from displaying any disaffection towards Domitian, threatened to refuse to acknowledge his successor. The Praetorians actually did, not long after Domitian's death, break out into mutiny, overpower the new Emperor, and massacre the assassins of the old one; all the elements of a new period of confusion existed, but they failed to combine.

For one thing, Nerva had less personal unpopularity than Galba. Galba was austere both in his virtues and his faults; he was a disciplinarian, probably a purist in morals, but certainly indifferent to human life. Nerva was none of the three, and the transition between the two was representative of a change, both for good and evil, in the spirit of the age. The old Roman prejudice against 'luxury'—the view that there was something sinful in the pursuit of comfort or pleasure for its own sake, unless there were some special religious or social motive to justify it—was practically obsolete. Tacitus himself, without abandoning the older point of view in theory, confesses that it had ceased to be practicable to regulate men's conduct accordingly; while, on the other hand, he says that the grossness of the old Roman gluttony had tended to disappear ever since the death of Nero. The contrast between austere and unlovely self-respect, and 'wretchlessness of most unclean living,' was softened on both sides; virtue and pleasure might still point an antithesis in philosophical discussions, but the concrete habits of the devotees of one were less intolerable to those of the other, and the life of a man like Nerva was tolerant of both and tolerable by both.

Meanwhile, the sentiment of humanity had made a real progress, owing more to the indirect than to the direct influence of Stoicism, owing something, also, to the gradually

more settled state of the government. The well-known saying of the elder Pliny, *Deus est mortali juvare mortalem*, etc., seems separable from the pessimism which was chiefly a matter of his individual temper; this humanitarian morality, which it is hard for a modern to avoid calling Positivism, was to all appearance the dominant influence among the better men of the next generation. Juvenal, and apparently even Vindex, were more shocked by Nero's domestic crimes and his personal degradation than by his cruelties to nobles or others; but with Domitian his cruelty stands out as his chief, indeed his sole, offence. Titus and Nerva, when each of them made and kept a promise to abstain from political executions, made the one concession required by the moral feeling of high and low to mark the character of his rule as something essentially better than that of his predecessors.

Nevertheless, there was an element of chance in Nerva's success. It was little better than an accident that Nerva was not killed in the mutiny of the Praetorians; it was little worse than an accident that Galba had not adopted Titus instead of Piso. If he had done so, the conspiracy of Otho might have been nipped in the bud, and harmony between the Senate and the Army restored, as it was under Nerva and Trajan. From the time of Trajan's adoption, the danger of anarchy was at an end; the powers which alone, through the medium of opinion or of force, could endanger the stability of a government, were both engaged in its support.

In this hopeful state of things, Tacitus returned to political life as well as to literary activity. Throughout Domitian's reign, he had doubtless been engaged in quietly collecting materials for his *Historias*; those for the *Agricola* and the *Germany* had been for some years complete. But his first public appearance proved to be, in form at least, political rather than literary. Nerva had been proclaimed Emperor

in September; according to custom, he claimed the office of Consul in the ensuing January; he selected for his colleague the aged Verginius Rufus. It seems foolish to speak of this as an act of courage, or even a proof of exceptional confidence; it was not likely that the honourable soldier, who at fifty-four had twice refused the rôle of a military pretender when forced upon him by an enthusiastic soldiery, but had lent his loyal services to every successive government that had any claim to be called legitimate or national, should, thirty years later, rebel against a better, and better founded government than any, when the soldiers had had all that time to forget him. But the appointment was a marked compliment, honourable to both giver and receiver, even if not of much political significance. The old man died in his well-deserved dignity. He had retained to the last the active habits of a soldier, and the tastes of a scholar and speaker,—the last being the more remarkable, because he was not of a noble family in which literary traditions were hereditary. Reading a large book, standing, he dropped it, and fell in trying to recover it; he broke his thigh-bone, and it scarcely needs Pliny's explanation of bad surgery to account for his death ensuing.

Tacitus was nominated to the vacant dignity, and thus attained the highest official distinction open to a Roman, short of the Principate itself—the *collegium Caesaris*.¹ The first act of his Consulship, the only one recorded, and doubtless the most important, was his pronouncing the funeral oration of his predecessor; Pliny says that to be so celebrated after death was the only thing wanting to complete the happiness of Verginius' life. Tacitus' office can hardly have lasted more than a few weeks; there is no evidence that Nerva had altered the custom according to which consuls were appointed

¹ *Hist.* i. 52. 8.

for two months only. To have done so would not only have been a disappointment to the members of consular families who expected the routine of office to carry them, if duly qualified, to the same point as their fathers; it would also have seriously interfered with public business to diminish the number of consulars available for provincial or other offices which law or custom forbade to be assigned to men of lower rank. From the beginning of March A.D. 97, therefore, Tacitus must have retired from office and pursued the preparation of his works for publication or recitation.

Early in the following year Nerva died; almost immediately¹ the *Life of Agricola* was issued, and it was intimated in the Preface that this was only an instalment of a larger work, a History of the whole period of the Flavian Dynasty. In the same year, the *Germany* was completed; it is an amusing bit of republican formalism that he dates the work from Trajan's second Consulship, not from the first year of his Principate. Whether this date is that of the publication, as it may be presumed that it was of the completion, of the tract, is a little less certain; the most reasonable view as to the author's purpose in its composition is, that it was published with the *Histories* as an Excursus or Appendix. But the *Histories* themselves may well have been ready at the end of this year or in the course of the next; it is implied by what is said of them in the *Agricola* that they were not to be long delayed. We must remember that publication was at Rome less of a single, and, so to speak, momentary act than in modern or even mediaeval times; the author may not have cared to alter what had been read to a circle of friends that included most of their expected readers, even though a few years might pass before he sent the ms.

¹ Nerva is spoken of, apparently as living, certainly without the title *Divus*, at the beginning; Trajan is called *princeps* at the end.

to the bookseller, or directed his own slaves to multiply copies. We therefore cannot pretend to establish the exact date of the publication of the *Histories* as a whole, but we may safely assign it to the early years of Trajan.

In his third year, A.D. 100, we have our last notice of a fact in Tacitus' personal history. The provincials of Africa brought an action against their oppressive governor, Marius Priscus: Tacitus and Pliny were appointed by the Senate to conduct the prosecution. The conviction was easily obtained—such prosecutions were not undertaken unless there was good cause, and the Senate was far from desirous to screen evil-doers. Marius was banished; we know not how much weight to give to Juvenal's hints, that his punishment sat lightly upon him, and failed to carry with it any amends to his victims. But there is perhaps some significance in the fact, that with all Tacitus' celebrity as an orator, this is the only instance where we hear in detail of a case in which he was engaged. It shows, what he himself notes in the beginning of his *Dialogue*, how far less important position the orator occupied, and how much less mark he left on history, than in the latter ages of the Republic; it perhaps may be held to show also, that Tacitus took little or no part in the crusade against *delatores* which followed the death of Domitian, as, if he had done so, the fact would have found natural mention in several of Pliny's letters.

In the Preface to the *Histories*, Tacitus announces an intention of employing his old age in writing the history of the happy times of Nerva and Trajan. It is almost certain that he never even commenced such a work. The composition of the *Annals*, in fact, must have occupied nearly the whole of the reign of Trajan, for though there were fewer difficulties in the way of openly collecting evidence, the collection must have been more laborious than when personal recollection

served for much, and the testimony of personal friends for still more. The date of the publication of the *Annals* is, of course, only ascertainable within the same wide limits as that of the *Histories*,—wider, in fact, as the only definite note of time contained in the work itself is ii. 61, *fin.* This must have been written in the two or three last years of Trajan; but we can hardly be sure that Tacitus would have felt bound to cancel the passage, even if the book was not published till the next reign.

It is presumable that Tacitus did not long survive the completion of this, his longest and, in general estimation, his greatest work. There are no traces of his having either begun to complete his History of the Empire by an account of the reign of Augustus (*Ann.* iii. 24. 4), or to continue it, according to his earlier intention (which that passage does not prove him to have abandoned), to the end of Trajan's reign, which he perhaps survived. The last thing we are able to say of him with certainty is, that he was living and writing, in the full vigour of his powers, at the age of sixty-five.

II.—CHARACTER AND OPINIONS OF TACITUS.

We have in this sketch of Tacitus' life treated the production of his various books as incidents in his career, rather than as constituting its substance. In the eyes of his contemporaries, he was, primarily, the greatest orator of his age, and, as orators should be, an able and judicious man of affairs; it was a minor matter to them, that he wrote powerfully and incisively; it mattered still less that what he wrote is so valuable as it is to us. Pliny, to be sure, expects Tacitus' *Histories* to be immortal, and is anxious to secure in them

a place for his own name ; but if we look at his references to his friend's works, we shall see that he (and indeed the same is true of most Latin writers, historians included) regards the 'immortality' as due to the work of art ; scarcely ever is a history valued as a contribution to science or to political philosophy. Nearly all editors ascribe the mutilated condition in which Tacitus' great works have reached us, to his never having been a popular author ; and his want of popularity was probably owing to his great merits, which were scarcely appreciated in his own age, being forgotten among men on whom his minor merits produced less effect than they then had. It is supposed to be a symptom of public neglect, that his descendant, the Emperor, thought it necessary to multiply copies of his works under official patronage ; and the shortness of his reign makes it improbable that many of these official copies were ever produced. Nor can we be sure that the order for their production indicates a real appreciation of the historian's genius ; it does indicate his being valued for a purpose, not unworthy, but of transitory interest. Under the circumstances of Tacitus' accession, it would be possible to appeal to his namesake's works as a party support, strengthening and justifying his position as in accordance with constitutional precedent. But never after—scarcely ever before, since the historian's own time—did the peaceful discussion of constitutional precedent become a makeweight in practical politics ; and this source of interest was accordingly dried up. Another, indeed, was opened some time later ; Christian scholars were interested in his account of the Neronian persecution, and still more, as it seems, in his probably fuller account of the fall of Jerusalem ; it is to their study of these passages that we owe the three or four fragments¹ preserved of the lost books. But from one

¹ Given at the end of vol. ii. of this edition.

of these Christian quotations we learn, incidentally, how little the real character of his work was understood; St. Jerome (*Comm. in Zach.*, c. xiv., III. 14, pp. 913 *sq.*), refers to it as 'the Lives of the Caesars.' Lives of the Caesars were the popular historical works of the age, and if it was Lives of the Caesars men wanted to read, they naturally went to Suetonius for them—who meant to give them what they wanted—rather than to Tacitus, who gave it to them only incidentally. We have, indeed, a single proof that Tacitus had not ceased to interest the class to which he belonged and for which he wrote, in the subscription of our MS. of the later books, which shows that he was studied by a rhetorician, apparently a man of rank, at the end of the fourth century. But after the final fall of the Roman senatorial order, there remained no one who cared to preserve or multiply his works; the few copies in existence disappeared, wholly or in part, without leaving descendants. Possibly the preservation of the one MS. of the earlier books at Corbey—certainly the only known mediaeval allusion to the *Histories*—is due to Teutonic patriotism; High and Low Germans felt an interest in the records of the deeds of Arminius and Civilis.

Of course this interest has in later times rather increased than diminished; but it has been supplemented ever since the Renaissance by one of a higher order. Most historians have political partialities, though with some it requires attention to discover them in their works; Tacitus is one of the few in whom political ideas are more prominent than partialities, or even than opinions; and for his political ideas he has been mainly valued in modern times. The value accorded to them has not always been accorded intelligently; the historian has been treated too much apart from his history, and still more, too much apart from history

in general ; but undoubtedly Tacitus has been better understood and appreciated for the last three centuries than ever before.

Within the last few years a tendency seems to have arisen to depreciate him unduly. A reaction has taken place from the historical school which 'treated events as if they had never happened ;' and now, instead of looking at the events as if they were the creatures or the dead materials of the historian, we look upon the historian's mind as the passive product of the course of events. It is not very long since we were told that Thucydides wrote his History to expose the evils of democracy, and that Tacitus wrote his to expose the evils of despotism ; a doctrine would find more favour now, which is not very different in substance and not absolutely better in form, that Tacitus' opinions are those of the senatorial order or the senatorial party. It is not as absurd to suppose that Tacitus wrote 'with a purpose,' as to suppose that Thucydides did, and, so far, Thucydides approves better his purity of aim as a historian ; on the other hand, Tacitus has the higher ethical tone of the two, and also lived in a time when party politics were less active and less bitter, and on both accounts he seems to us less liable to be misled by party spirit. It is quite true that he was a statesman of the Roman Empire which he describes, and that we lookers-on have a better view of the game than he could while playing in it ; but less good is done by remembering this, than harm by treating all that he says as simply strokes made in favour of his own side.

Thucydides was born and bred a thinker on politics ; he became a historian because he failed as a practical politician. Tacitus had two co-ordinate interests—that of the political thinker, and of the literary artist—which were more separate in his day than in Thucydides' ; but if his political philo-

sophy was at all diluted by this distraction of interest, it is some compensation that the literary form in which it is cast is not accidental nor unvalued by the author. Sometimes we may suspect that a sentiment is expressed rather because it was a literary commonplace, appropriate to the context, than because it had been thought out from the author's experience, or deduced from the events that give occasion for it; but it is something that we feel more secure with Tacitus than with most writers of equal intelligence, that the moral sources of error in relating facts are at least as well guarded against as errors of judgment in explaining them. He may have given too much weight to the memoirs of Agrippina; he may have been more credulous of palace scandals than sound criticism would warrant; we have scarcely any direct evidence to show that it was so, but if it was, the phenomena of his history become more consistent with human nature as we know it. So far, we may admit that *a priori* probability is to be set against Tacitus' statements of fact, but in questions not depending on the credit of evidence, but on sympathies and antipathies, we really have no *a priori* presumption of his being actuated by class or party bias.

Yet while it is a mistake to consider Tacitus as telling his whole story in terms of his political creed, it is true that his political creed is rather to be gleaned from his whole work than deduced from the not very numerous passages where he directly expresses his opinion. Or rather, Tacitus was, in politics, as in philosophy and religion, a man without a creed, though not without faith; we cannot expect the opinions expressed by him in individual passages to combine into a consistent whole, but must judge what was his habitual tone of mind from these and other indications of the moods which his mind passed through. And we are not to assume too

confidently that even his habitual tone of mind was the same through life. The young, cheerful, and hopeful rhetorician whom we make acquaintance with in the *Dialogue* is a different character from the grave disappointed man of forty-five who speaks in the first paragraphs of the *Agricola*; and as the *Histories* and *Germany* rapidly follow, we still trace a severe and gloomy theory of life—the world is a bad place, and unredeemed from evil, though many even of its evils serve to supply an intellectual interest that commands both happiness and respect, and though prosperity and security make self-respect easy, and self-respect makes life endurable even in this evil world. On the other hand, twenty years of this prosperity, security, and self-respect, twenty years' contemplation of the good government that afforded them, was not without consolatory effect. It would, no doubt, be a paradox to say that the tone of the *Annals* is more cheerful than that of the *Histories*; the period recorded excites the author's indignation more, and he naturally treats it with more bitterness. But it is a question if this bitterness came from very deep in his heart. A pessimist temper, once formed, is not likely to be thrown off in old age, but it ceases to embitter the life or the character, when pessimism is thrown back upon the past, and its inquiry is, why the former days were *not* better than these, but on the contrary a great deal worse. The author of the *Annals* is aware that he is living in a silver age; he doubts if there ever was a golden. He proves that it was not at any time since the reign of Augustus, scarcely in it; he does not deny that there was a heroic age, to say the least, in the days of the Republic, but he seems to feel that the glory of its heroes is safest when enshrined in myth or haloed with the mist of time. If he writes more like a Republican than he had twenty years earlier, it is only as Scott wrote more like a Jacobite than Johnson, and Aytoun more than

Scott; Republicanism, like Jacobitism, had sunk from the level of a matter of party, and become a matter of sentiment.

But these successive changes of temper are not, to any perceptible extent, accompanied by changes of opinion. The hankering after Republicanism as an ideal, while acknowledging the Empire as a necessity, and, when the author wrote, a beneficent one,—the feeling that, as Roman greatness was gained under the leadership of the Senate, so the Senate had a prescriptive right to its dignity being preserved, while yet it is clearly acknowledged that the Senate has lost its power of directing the government, and is tacitly confessed that it has lost its fitness also,—these are the views or the sentiments of the *Dialogue*, the *Histories*, and the *Annals* alike. There is some difference in the way that they are conceived, or at least expressed; in the *Dialogue* we hear less of the Senate and more of the position held by its leading members; but this is sufficiently to be accounted for by the subject and form of the work; it is only in the choice of subject, if anywhere, that we trace the influence of the youth, the ambition, or the habits and prospects of the author.

At first sight, this craving after an ideal confessed to be unattainable seems a weakness; but it is closely connected with Tacitus' chief merit as a historian of the Roman polity. He looks upon the history of Rome as continuous: the Caesarian revolution that culminated after Actium makes a great epoch in that history,—but it *is* an epoch in the history that began with the kings, not the commencement of a new history on the site of the old. The value and significance of this historical method of viewing contemporary politics seems to have grown upon the historian; it certainly was not peculiar to him, but was a result of the traditions of the order and nation he belonged to,—the aspect of their greatness by which he as a historian was most influenced. In the

Dialogue it is perhaps no more than the necessary result of the subject, that we get few references to the ages before that of the incipient revolution ; yet it is significant that the author insists on and exaggerates the nearness in time of the Republican period ; still more so is the passage where he suggests Menenius Agrippa as the type of a really ancient Roman orator. In the great historical works, notices like that of the unconstitutional deposition of Caecina, of the unprecedented adoption of Nero, or even of the rather silly remark made upon Augustus' thirteen consulships, are symptoms of this characteristic feeling or method ; while in passages like the exordium of the *Annals*, or *Hist.* ii. 38, iii. 72, *Ann.* xi. 22, we have it deliberately expressed and applied. The antiquarianism of *Hist.* iv. 83 *sqq.*, *Ann.* xi. 14, and other passages that might be named, is a natural outgrowth of this view of history. An unsympathetic reader might think that the taste for antiquarianism was the cause, the sense of the value of historical antiquities the effect ; but that this would be unjust both to Tacitus and to his age is proved by their judgment on a mere antiquarian like Claudius.

It would be more satisfactory to many of Tacitus' readers now, if it were possible to deduce from his works a consistent scheme of what he thought ought to be the respective powers of the Prince and the Senate ; if, in fact, he had sketched a paper constitution for the Rome or the Roman Empire of his day. So it would have been more satisfactory to readers of an earlier generation, if Tacitus' offer to his readers had been the same as Livy's, *Inde tibi tueque reipublicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu, quod vites*. The devout and yet not disinterested spirit in which he is quoted by such a writer as Sir A. Alison (who quotes him very often, and by no means stupidly) is nearly the same to which we are accustomed in quotations from another Volume—

*‘in hoc libro quaerit sua dogmata quisque,
Inque hoc inveniet dogmata quisque sua.’*

But as we have learnt that ‘Tacitus’ lesson is larger than can be embodied in quotations or conveyed by single examples, so we may learn that it is too well considered for its principles to be enunciated in a sentence, or for its worth to be estimated in inverse proportion to the neatness of the epigram it inspires. He gives us no doubt half-truths, but with truth as with material possessions, the half is often more than the whole ; those have learnt most from him who are most in sympathy with him, not those who are best able to give account of their agreement or disagreement with his particular statements and doctrines. For these reasons, it seems to be a mistake to attempt to enunciate Tacitus’ political opinions by collecting in one body all the passages where they seem to be expressed ; the collection given below, founded on that in Nipperdey’s Preface, is to be viewed rather as a vivarium in which his thoughts may be observed, than an anatomical museum in which they are separately arranged and classified. That Tacitus was heartily loyal to the Senate ; that he was convinced, without heartiness, of the necessity of the Empire ; that while he recognised that the popular element in the old republican constitution was deservedly obsolete, he was neither indifferent nor unjust to the popular party in the past ; —so much may be said without risk or error ; but wherever he seems to express political doctrines with more detail and definiteness, we must not forget the possibility that he either states them dramatically, as being held by the leading characters or the populace at the time he is describing, or gives vent to them as the sentiments provoked by his immediate subject, which must be compared with and balanced by other independent sentiments, before we can be sure (if we ever can) what was his deliberate opinion.

With some allowance for this source of uncertainty, we may say that there seems to be one point in which Tacitus' views on the politics of his age went beyond acquiescence in the *status quo* under Trajan ; or at least that he discerned and formulated one of the good points in the actual constitution, which both statesmen and people in general regarded as accidental. The one element of instability and uncertainty in the imperial constitution,—the one source of revolution which was never closed,—was not the difficulty of adjusting the relations of the various powers in the state, but that of providing for the transmission of those powers. Sovereignty, it was agreed, lay for all practical purposes in the hands of the Emperor ; the authority of the Senate became in fact, what it had in historical times always been in theory, a moral rather than a legal force ; and the power of the people, such as it had been in prehistorical times, was now represented by the power of the army,—a power unquestionably real, and not denied to be rightful, but which could scarcely ever be exercised at less cost than a revolution. So far all was clear ; the only unsolved question was, how the Emperor was to be appointed. The office had not been made, but grown ; it had grown from two roots, and it was not determined from which it should be conceived to draw its life, or whether it was now independent of both. In theory, the *Princeps Senatus* would naturally be designated by the unanimous choice of the Senate, the *Imperator* by the unanimous applause of her soldiers ; but it was clear that these two were not necessarily harmonious, and if they differed, it was by no means so clear which ought to prevail, as it was which would prevail in practice. Meanwhile, the *de facto* monarchical government had, from the first, shown the tendency common to all monarchies to become hereditary ; but if the sovereignty were allowed to descend as an ordinary patrimony, the Senate suffered

in their self-respect, and the Army in their class interest and self-love.

Tacitus appears to have conceived as a theory that system of succession that in fact answered best ; the wisdom proved by his conception of it is the greater, that its practical value was shown at least as much after his time as before. He held that the Emperor should designate his successor under the form of adoption ; this would avoid the dangers of an interregnum, which, with two co-ordinate and independent powers in the state, would be virtual anarchy ; and at the same time, the choice of a patriotic and intelligent sovereign is as real a representation of the national will as the choice of a popular body, 'representative' in the modern technical sense. He had heard of the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus, of Germanicus by Tiberius, of Nero by Claudius ; he had seen what came of the adoption of Piso by Galba, and of Trajan by Nerva. The earlier precedents were not so encouraging as to make manifest the promise in the last of the reigns of Hadrian and the Antonines ; but the genius of Tacitus discerned the promise, which he puts into the mouth of the unfortunate Galba, as though by way of consolation for his failure to fulfil it.

Tacitus' opinions on speculative subjects are perhaps more definitely to be ascertained than on political, though it is probable that they were even less definite in themselves. While less closely connected with the substance of his work, we feel more interest, and are more easily aroused to sympathy, for his partial and not very successful guesses at 'the riddle of the painful earth,' than for his diagnosis, or even his hints on the regimen, of the hypertrophy of the Roman body politic. The questions he asked of himself, or of heaven and earth, are among the questions which men are still asking, with or without an answer or the hope of one ; moreover, we may to some extent learn what questions to ask, and how, if at all, to

answer them, by seeing which questions he felt most pressing for solution, and which he either despaired of solving or was content to leave unsolved.

Something has already been said of the partial moral regeneration of Tacitus' age, of the growth in it of a sentiment of humanity, to serve as the basis of morality, in place of the older idea of discipline. Tacitus himself was not blind to this spirit of the time, nor does he ever express disapproval or aversion for it; but his own moral judgments rest upon the older foundation. 'When you are at Rome, do as the Romans,' is with us a maxim whose scope is manifestly limited to things indifferent; but to an ancient citizen, 'When you are a Roman, do as the Romans do,' was the first of ethical principles, the foundation of the sense of duty in the most essential as well as in the most conventional matters. Tacitus sometimes seems to think, as Juvenal expressly says, that the guilt of Nero's public musical and dramatic performances was identical in kind, and comparable in degree, with that of the murders of Britannicus and Octavia, or the marriage of Pythagoras. This appears strange to us, and Tacitus gradually came to feel that it was hard to justify intellectually; but we can explain it historically. The raw material of moral sentiment in all ages is the habit of adherence to the customs among which we have grown up; this is found insufficient for guidance in the requirements of a complicated society, and requires to be supplemented by prudential maxims or emotional impulses, such as are supplied by legislation, by ethical speculation or reflection, or by religious exhortation and belief; but the conception of 'duty,' defined as 'to do as other men are doing,'¹ if often inadequate or misleading, is not inoperative. It doubtless was the ultimate motive of the Fijian who told Sir John Lubbock that he killed his mother 'because it was

¹ Clough's Poems: *The New Bethesda*.

right ;' it also is the base of the sense of rectitude and honour in nobler savages like Simeon and Levi,¹ and in commonplace moderns whose intellectual life is narrow.² It is therefore not to be wondered at if we trace its power at an intermediate stage of human history ; and at Rome its power was exceptionally prolonged. A law, imposed by a known law-giver, by obedience to which things may be kept as they are at their best ; an ideal, better than anything which now visibly exists, to which human life may yet be made to conform ; a tendency in the world, or in human life, to become better than it has been, or a power, above man and the world, capable of making it so ;—any of these, when suggested either by independent thought or by real or supposed revelation, serves to supplement, and in part supersede, the old crude ethics of custom ; or, again, these may be modified and systematised, by analysis and mutual reconciliation of the customary rules, until some principle, like that of general utility, is discovered underlying them, which gives them, when amended in detail, a speculative justification, or at least a defence from adverse speculation. All progressive societies, ancient and modern, have learnt to base their moral code on one or all of these defensible grounds ; but just because at Rome the traditional morality was so strong, it did not spontaneously seek any external support.³ From the days of Cato to those of Augustus, Roman morality was going to pieces, and those who were endeavouring to reconstruct it were, not quite unjustly, sus

¹ 'The men were grieved, and they were very wroth, because he had wrought folly in Israel, . . . and so is not done.'—Gen. xxxiv. 7.

² See the characters of the Dodson sisters in *The Mill on the Floss*, especially Book vii. c. 3, and the analytical discussion of their religion in Book iv. c. 1.

³ The conception of the 'Law of Nature' is traced, partly to Greek Stoicism, partly to the empirical rules of personal and international morality arising out of intercourse with foreigners.—See Maine's *Ancient Law*, Chap. iii. pp. 52-57.

pected of having a hand in its dissolution. The case of Cato against the philosophers was essentially the same as that of Aristophanes against the sophists: moral habits are, in the individual and in the nation, earlier than reason, and ought to be stronger, and those who undertake to rest them upon reason, and judge them by reason, are exposed to the temptation, as well as to the accusation, of forgetting this. It is true that they who discussed the foundations of morality were not as far from being able to answer the questions they asked in the second century before Christ as in the fifth, and so far the prejudice against them was less reasonable; on the other hand, they were not only innovators but foreigners, and on this ground the prejudice was, if less violent and bitter, deeper rooted and more lasting. Agricola, and it is evident Tacitus himself, adhered to the old Roman maxim,

‘philosophari, sed paucis, nam omnino haud placet,’

not merely because the active life was held to be higher than the speculative, and it was assumed that too great interest in speculation was inconsistent with activity (an assumption so obvious, that it was as old as speculation itself), but because it was felt that every Roman, at least of senatorial birth or position, had a vocation to the active life, which it was a sin to neglect or compromise for the sake of speculation. A Greek philosopher was a man to be honoured, but a Roman, at least a Roman senator, ought to be something better than a philosopher.

Tacitus shows, to be sure, a certain tolerance towards such men as Seneca and Musonius Rufus, who, without withdrawing from active political life, yet threw themselves into philosophical questions, or adopted philosophical discipline, with a zeal which was its own end, and not subordinated to practice. Yet he seems to admire Helvidius Priscus, who studied philo-

sophy to strengthen him for war against the Empire, more than Musonius, who found in philosophy a rule for never forfeiting self-respect, while living, like Marcellus, with contentment under good Emperors and with resignation under bad ; and he judges Seneca by his literary merits and political demerits, scarcely taking account of his character as a philosopher at all. This is the more remarkable, because he intimates that neither he nor Agricola felt bound to emulate, or approved of emulating, the 'irreconcilable' attitude of Helvidius ; on the contrary, they both must have treated Domitian, perhaps not with as much complaisance as Nero was treated by Seneca, but with as much deference as he was ever treated by Thræsea. The explanation seems to be, that Tacitus warmly admired the personal character of Helvidius, whom he had probably known in his youth, and that he had a certain sympathy, though not an entire approval, for his political attitude. So far as we can infer anything more general than this, it will be that he approved of men studying philosophy (and the Stoical philosophy was now the only one very seriously studied), as a means for the regulation of life, but not of their throwing themselves into the study as though it were the end of life to be regulated by philosophy.

Such at least might be Tacitus' deliberate opinion ; his moral instinct was rather to confess that Stoicism was a very good thing so long as he was not expected to be a Stoic. The measure of his agreement with Stoical morality may be illustrated by what we see in our own days to be the relation of men of honour and intellect to the Catholic. For most practical purposes, his view of right and wrong was the same as would be taken by a Stoic, but he felt that the moral ideal proposed by Stoicism as the highest, was one that he could not admire, or at least would be sorry to see realised ; and so far as that ideal was actually approached, the moral gains that

he sympathised with seemed to be alloyed with dogmatism and formalism, which he felt hampered by or despised. Only, because Stoicism had never been dominant or officially recognised like Catholicism, the feeling of freethinkers towards it had not the bitterness of a revolt ; Stoicism was one, perhaps the noblest, of the various forms of creed which the mind would contemplate without holding, and of the various systems which the thinker might 'let his consciousness play around' without caring to reform.

Ethical speculation, indeed, was not the direction in which Tacitus' mind was most active. Although, or perhaps because, his faith in moral obligation was strong, he was comparatively indifferent to its intellectual basis ; he valued virtue, honour, and sobriety, whether they proceeded from the tradition that *noblesse oblige*, from the precept of 'life according to nature,' or from the sentiment of reluctance to do hurt, especially to a countryman and an equal. Although with him, as doubtless with all men of his age and nation, morality was felt to be of far more importance than religion, his mind was far more actively engaged on religious questions than on ethical. He had no definite creed ; he was scarcely a 'seeker after God ;' but he was far from being irreligious, indifferent, or sceptical, so far as scepticism is the name of a moral temper, and does not stand merely for the absence of belief in a definite system of supposed certain truth. He believed in the existence of the gods—doubt on this subject seems never to occur to him as conceivable, or at least excusable ; on the other hand, the question of providence, and those associated with it—human free-will and unalterable fate, and the possibility of learning the latter through omens or astrology,—are treated as questions doubtful, important, perhaps insoluble, but at all events worthy of the greatest attention. It is interesting to observe that these questions arise to his mind more frequently, and perhaps

are regarded more hopefully, in his later works than in his earlier ; but his theological sentiments, like his political, are best left in his own words, and not formulated more distinctly than he himself has done.

It is of course by no means a characteristic of Tacitus individually, but a universal one of all ancient thought, that while he regards the truths of the divine nature and operations as a matter on which (within certain limits) speculation is free, religious worship is viewed as altogether a matter for state regulation. But the fact that he accepts this principle contentedly and without discussion, is not without influence on our judgment of his moral and intellectual character, when we remember that he lived in the age when, for the first time in Europe, religion was being set on a wider than national basis. Among the reasons why he did not give a more thorough adhesion to Stoicism, one no doubt was, that he disliked it as cosmopolitan ; the reason why he disapproved of Christianity was substantially the same, though that is hardly the way in which he would have expressed his disapproval.

For the assumption can hardly be justified, that Tacitus' hostility to the new religion arose from ignorance of everything in it beyond the name. In all likelihood, he never had such an acquaintance with its doctrines and practices as Pliny only gained when it came under his cognisance judicially ; still, it is scarcely possible that he can have failed to have his attention called to it by the persecution of Domitian.¹ So far as we can guess, he must have approved of that measure, though he evidently thought that of Nero barbarous. If

¹ That Domitian did persecute the Christians (perhaps not sparing Jews not of Jewish birth, and other Oriental sectaries) is now generally admitted. It is the natural inference from the language of Dio (lxvii. 14), besides being expressly stated in remarkably moderate terms by Tertullian (*Apol.* c. 7).

Flavius Clemens¹ refused to perform the religious ceremonies which fell to his lot as consul, he really committed a serious crime on Roman principles, or on any except his own ; it scarcely needed a fanatical zeal like Domitian's for the honour of Jupiter Capitolinus, who had saved both their lives in the Civil War, to think that he was justly punished with death, and his wife, and other adherents of so disloyal a sect, with banishment. This is not unlikely to have been Tacitus' view ; it is certainly remarkable that in the *Agricola* he nowhere mentions Clemens among the victims of Domitian's cruelty, though in a sense he was the most illustrious of them.²

¹ Dio does not distinguish between Judaism and Christianity in his account of the persecution ; he couples together the charges of *Ἰουδαϊκὸς βίος*, *ἀθεότης*, and *ἀσεβεία*, as if they were the same thing in Domitian's eyes. Juv. xiv. 96 *sqq.* shows that Judaism did still make converts at Rome ; but it would have been strange for a Flavius to be among them, and the traditional view, that Clemens was a Christian, appears to be confirmed by nearly contemporary inscriptions. Canon Lightfoot conjectures that the now more famous St. Clement the Bishop was a freedman of this St. Clement the Martyr ; but this seems a strange way of accounting for his bearing the same *cognomen*. We should think it very strange if, a generation earlier, any of 'the saints of Caesar's household' had been called Caesar, or even Nero or Drusus. Clemens is a slave's name in *Ann.* ii. 39, *sq.* Dr. Lightfoot himself quotes an inscription showing that it was borne by a Jewish slave, such as St. Clement had probably been ; when emancipated, his old slave's name would serve for a *cognomen* (*Pers.* v. 79). The fact is, the name was very common among all classes, and we cannot (without such evidence as iv. 68. 3 gives us) presume a relationship between those who bore it. If we do hazard a guess who St. Clement of Rome was, he is as likely as anything to have been a son of St. Paul's fellow-labourer, St. Clement of Philippi, with whom uncritical tradition identifies him. On the other hand, T. Flavius Clemens, Bishop of Alexandria, about a century later, *may* have been descended from the martyr himself, but far more probably from some one to whom Vespasian had granted citizenship while in the East : Flavius in Palestine and Egypt was a name no more distinctive than Julius or Claudius in Gaul. *καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰποῦσι, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ παρὰ τῶν μαρτύρων εὐμενέη εἴη.*

² His two sons were adopted, or at least openly acknowledged as his heirs, by the Emperor ; Clemens himself was probably older than his cousin, and so not to be expected to survive him. Of course, in the lost

Suetonius thought Clemens' character contemptible ; Tacitus probably, from a political point of view, thought it worse ; and pronounces the religion which made him what he was a deadly superstition, hideous or shameful, which nothing but the depravity of modern Rome saved from sharing in the fall of its parent state.

Certain as it is that Tacitus rejected Christianity, whether more or less deliberately, the question has some interest whether his adherence to the historical religion and ceremonial of Rome was hearty or indifferent. That it should be hearty is not as impossible as is generally imagined. Cicero's famous saying about the two augurs, coupled with the fact that he was an augur himself, makes us think that the whole of Roman paganism was, so far as it affected educated people, a system of organised hypocrisy, kept up for the restraint of the vulgar. But in the first place, we can hardly take Cicero's sceptical arguments in the *De Divinatione* as an expression of fixed disbelief on his own part ; they do show, no doubt, that he saw divination to be the ridiculous side of the traditional religion ; but it appears from the same work, that he did not fear to make his brother ridiculous by representing him as a believer even in divination. And further, Cicero and Tacitus were after all not contemporaries ; it is no more self-evident that the feelings of educated men were the same in the days of the latter as of the former, than it would be safe to assume that the opinions of Talleyrand are held by the present Bishop of Autun. The augurs of Cicero's time knew that their art was chiefly used to furnish pretexts for cancelling elections or interrupting resolutions that were inconvenient to the party in power ; but, *ex quo suffragia nulli vendimus*, believers in augury, even if augurs

Books of the *Histories* there must have been a record of his death, but the absence of allusion elsewhere seems to show that Tacitus regarded it without interest or horror.

themselves, may have had their faith less severely tried. If we look to the evidence we have as to the state of religion among Tacitus' contemporaries, we may see signs of a reaction from unbelief, as well as from superstition, that moved men of any religious feeling to rally round the national gods and legitimate ceremonies, as the best hope of truth and the best safeguard of purity ; Domitian himself was not only sincere but fanatical in his reverence for them ; his personal vices are no more evidence to the contrary than those of Philip II. of Spain, or James II. of England.¹ Now, though Domitian was neither a respected nor a popular sovereign, he was by no means a contemptible one ; those who wished to despise him were reduced to such poor tricks as raking up and modernising old stories of the follies of Gaius and Vitellius. It is scarcely likely, therefore, that his influence counted for nothing, when he threw himself with enthusiastic devotion into a cause that few could think a bad one. Humane gentlemen like Pliny were shocked at the execution of the Vestals ; they professed to doubt their guilt, and plainly thought it, even if real, much less atrocious than their punishment. But it is hard to deny that Domitian was in this matter the representative of the best Roman feeling, or to see how conservative moralists like Tacitus could disapprove of his policy. A good many people, who themselves, if they ever worshipped anybody, worshipped Isis, and if they ever practised any moral virtue, did not practise chastity, nevertheless expected some harm to come to Rome and to themselves from the Dacians, or Germans, or somebody, if the Vestals were not virgins, or if the worship of the gods of Rome were not kept up in the ancient Roman manner. Now this class, if not very respectable, was so large as to be

¹ Scarcely less ; for his vices were as much opposed to the spirit of the Roman religion as theirs of the Christian, though the moral precepts of the former were not as clearly enunciated as the Decalogue.

important ; it was a real loss to public virtue, if it should let go the few moral and religious conceptions that it still maintained. To confess this is not quite the same thing as to propose to deceive the many for their good ; the less so, as those who sat loose enough to the popular religion to speculate on its usefulness, had by no means a formed disbelief in its truth. Any member of Tacitus' circle would probably have felt as uneasy at a *prodigium non publice procuratum* as it is said that Voltaire's disciples did, if one found himself at a dinner-party of thirteen ; and the Roman was not in the least ashamed of himself for the superstition, as the Frenchman perhaps would be. Tacitus himself was plainly shocked, and expects his readers to be so, at Vitellius' ignorance and carelessness in doing pontifical business on the anniversary of the Allia. Men who felt dissatisfied with the popular religion as a standard of truth and goodness, nevertheless respected it on account of its untraceable origin, which it was as impossible to disprove as to prove to be really divine. Philosophers might follow Socrates in refusing to believe stories or approve practices contrary to natural morality ; practical men might, still oftener, take note that popular beliefs were seldom perfectly verified by facts ; but both classes, when brought face to face with the religion they criticised, would have confessed that 'there might be something in it.' Tacitus may have handled and studied the third edition of the Sibylline Books with as good faith and sincere reverence as Crito offered the testamental cock to Aesculapius.

To this extent it may be said that Tacitus' mind reveal itself in his works. Of his personal character, his moral and social habits, we must be content to know much less. The *Agricola* gives us an impression, which can hardly be misleading, that the author was a man of strong and tender affections ; it leaves us ready to believe, though, of course, no book can

prove, that he was kindly and upright in the relations which he valued so highly—a man such as he describes Helvidius Priscus, *civis, senator, maritus, gener, amicus, cunctis vitæ officiis æquabilis*. The way that Pliny speaks of him and to him likewise suggests that he was a good and amiable man : and it is something, that all the evidence we have as to his character should be favourable, even when the evidence is mainly his own, and that of a friend given to effusive compliments. But this evidence is supported by the whole spirit of his writings—not less in what he does not say than in what he does. A man with any capacity for generous feeling might assume the tender and affectionate tone of the *Agricola*, but no one could keep up to the moral elevation and purity of the historical works, unless it were genuine and native to him. With regard to the vices of his time, and the worse times before him, his language and his reticence are alike manly and honourable. In the *Histories*, at least the extant portion, there is not a sentence that offends against modern delicacy, not to say natural decency ; and the whole range of contemporary literature (with one or two exceptions, notably Quintilian, but not excepting even such amiable and respectable men as Pliny and Statius) shows that this was a characteristic of the individual, not of the age.¹

In regard to the ‘minor morals’ and social habits of the man, there is a little evidence which, if admitted, has rather an unfavourable tendency. The words of Tacitus referred to by Pliny (*Ep.* viii. 7. 1), and already quoted (*Life, etc.*, p. xii.),

¹ Dr. Merivale (*Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, c. 64) suspects Tacitus of writing light or immoral verses, because the grammarian Fulgentius quotes ‘*Cornelius Tacitus in libro facetiarum.*’ But the passage quoted is very harmless prose (about a son being the epitaph of his father’s virtues), and Ritter is doubtless right in supposing that the quotation means, not that Tacitus wrote or compiled a jest-book, but that a saying of his was inserted in one.

have the mark of a genuine though rather formal modesty and courtesy ; but there is one among Pliny's letters which there are some grounds for suspecting to be written by him, and which shares in no small degree Pliny's characteristic fault of literary vanity and self-consciousness.

Among the Epistles with the superscription *Plinius Tacito* are two, in widely different parts of the collection, which, if read in connection with each other, must strike every reader as being presumably by different authors—the second being written in answer to the first.

In Book i. Ep. 6, the writer tells how he made believe to be hunting, and actually achieved spearing three boars, while in the intervals he found opportunity to sit down and make notes for literary work—a notion which he expects his correspondent to find comical or incredible, but which he propounds for his serious consideration and imitation, as combining the service of Minerva and Diana. In the supposed reply, Book ix. Ep. 10, the writer says that boars are scarce about him, and Minerva's service has difficulties enough of its own ; in short, he writes as if he felt the foolishness of affectation like his friend's, and declined to have anything to do with it. Now, if we do admit the second letter to be an answer to the first, we might be content to suppose that Pliny acted like a prig, and wrote about it like a prig, and that Tacitus snubbed him as far as friendship and courtesy would allow ; but, unfortunately, the second letter is addressed to the author of the *Dialogue* ascribed to Tacitus. It contains the sentence, *Itaque poemata quiescunt, quae tu inter nemora et lucos commodiosime perfici putas*—a manifest reference to Tacitus, *Dial.* 9. 6, *poetis, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere velint, . . . ut ipsi dicunt*, in nemora et lucos, *id est, in solitudinem recedendum est*. Now, Pliny *cannot* have been the author of the *Dialogue*, for he was barely fourteen, not therefore *juvenis*, when it is supposed

to have taken place ; while there is no reason whatever for setting aside the ms. evidence that Tacitus was the author, except the unlikeness of style to his later works, which itself is neutralised by subtle underlying resemblances. But we cannot doubt, from the place of the letters in Pliny's collection, that he is one party to the correspondence—scarcely, that Tacitus is the other ; it therefore follows, that Tacitus' title to the authorship of the *Dialogue* is confirmed, but burdened with a title to the authorship of the literary boar-hunt. It may be added, that Tacitus, being the older of the two, had better reason for the apprehension, with which the letter opens, that his friend would laugh at the idea of his turning huntsman.

Nearly every editor of Pliny or of Tacitus has formed a different opinion as to the explanation of the phenomena of these two letters. For the reasons above stated, I confess that I come reluctantly to the conclusion, that Tacitus must bear the blame of having written the priggish one. If so, the only excuse to be advanced for him is, that in letter-writing you must adapt your tone to the character and humour of your correspondent.

Passages illustrative of Tacitus' Political Opinions.

Agr. 2. 2. 1.—Scilicet illo igne (which burnt the books of Rusticus and Senecio) vocem populi Romani, et libertatem Senatus, et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur.

Ib. 2. 3, 3. 1.—Dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum : et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos, quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio. . . . Nunc demum redit animus : et quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque quotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Trajanus, nec

spem modo ac votum securitas publica sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur adsumserit, natura tamen etc.

Agr. 42. 5.—Sciant, quibus moris est illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis escendere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum reipublicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

Hist. i. 1. 2.—Postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere; simul veritas pluribus modis infracta, primum inscitia rei publicae, ut alienae, mox libidine adsentandi aut rursus odio adversus dominantes.

Ib. i. 1. 5 *fin.*—Imperium Trajani, . . . rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quae velis, et quae sentias dicere licet.

Ib. i. 16. 1-4.—Si inmensum imperii corpus stare ac librari sine rectore posset, dignus eram a quo res publica inciperet: nunc eo necessitatis jam pridem ventum est, ut nec mea senectus conferre plus populo Romano possit quam bonum successorem, nec tua plus juvenia quam bonum principem. Sub Tiberio et Gaio et Claudio unius familiae quasi hereditas fuimus: loco libertatis erit quod eligi coepimus. Et finita Juliorum Claudiorumque domo, optimum quemque adoptio inveniet. Nam generari et nasci a principibus fortuitum, nec ultra aestimatur: adoptandi iudicium integrum; et *si velis eligere, consensu monstratur.*

Ib. ii. 37 *sq.*; note especially 38. 3, 4.—Modo turbulenti tribuni, modo consules praevalidi, et in urbe ac foro tentamenta civilium bellorum; mox e plebe infima C. Marius et nobilium saevissimus, L. Sulla victam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt. Post quos Cn. Pompeius occultior, non melior. Et numquam postea nisi de principatu quaesitum.

Ib. iv. 8. 3.—Se meminisse temporum, quibus natus sit, quam civitatis formam patres avique instituerint; ulteriora mirari, praesentia sequi: bonos Imperatores voto expectere, qualescunque tolerare. (Read the whole chapter.)

Ann. i. 1. 2 give a sketch of the establishment of the Empire, and the latter c. a brief estimate of its advantages.

Ib. iii. 27 sq.—Read the whole passage; notice especially 27. 2—28. 3. *Secutae leges etsi aliquando in maleficos ex delicto, saepius tamen dissensione ordinum et apiscendi illicitos honores, aut pellendi claros viros, aliaque ob prava, per vim latae sunt. Hinc Gracchi et Saturnini turbatores plebis, nec minor largitor nomine senatus Drusus; corrupti spe, aut inlusi per intercessionem socii. Ac ne bello quidem Italico, mox civili, omissum quin multa et diversa sciscerentur, donec L. Sulla dictator, abolitis vel conversis prioribus, cum plura addidisset, otium ejus rei haud in longum paravit, statim turbidis Lepidi rogationibus, neque multo post tribunis reddita licentia quoquo vellent populum agitando. . . . Tum Cn. Pompeius tertium consul, corrigendis moribus delectus, sed gravior remediis quam delicta erant, suarumque legum auctor idem ac subversor, quae armis tuebatur, armis amisit. . . . Sexto demum consulatu Caesar Augustus, potentiae securus, quae triumviratu jusserat abolevit, deditque jura, quis pace et principe uteremur.*

Ib. iv. 3. 4.—Atque illa, cui avunculus Augustus, socer Tiberius, ex Druso liberi, seque ac majores et posteros *municipali* adultero foedabat;—curious for the moral thought as well as the political.

Ib. iv. 20. 4, 5.—Hunc ego Lepidum temporibus illis gravem et sapientem virum fuisse comperior: nam pleraque ab saevis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit. Neque tamen temperamenti egebat, cum aequabili auctoritate et gratia apud Tiberium viguerit. . . . Liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum.

Ib. iv. 33.—The whole chapter is instructive; so is the remark in the previous one, that Tiberius was *proferendi imperii incuriosus*, unlike Trajan. This confirms what is said above, that the bitter satire on the past contained in the *Annals*, implies no bitterness against the time the author lived in. In c. 33 notice especially.

§§ 1, 2.—Nam cunctas nationes et urbes populus aut primores aut singuli regunt; delecta ex iis et consociata reipublicae forma (Polyb. lib. vi., Cic. *de Rep.*), laudari facilius quam evenire, vel si evenit, haud diuturna esse potest. Igitur ut olim plebe valida, vel cum patres pollerent, noscenda vulgi natura et quibus modis temperanter haberetur, senatusque et optimatum ingenia qui maxime perdidicerant, callidi temporum et sapientes credebantur (is he thinking of Plat. *Rep.* vi. 7, p. 493 A, B?), sic converso statu, neque alia re Romana quam si unus imperitet, haec conquiri tradique in rem fuerit.

Ann. vi. 10. 3-5.—Per idem tempus L. Piso pontifex, rarum in tanta claritudine, fato obiit, nullius servilis sententiae sponte auctor, et quotiens necessitas ingrueret (cf. Thrasea in *Ann.* xiv. 12. 2, 48. 5), sapienter moderans. Patrem ei censorium fuisse memoravi; aetas ad octogensimum annum processit; decus triumphale in Thraecia meruerat. Sed praecipua ex eo gloria, quod praefectus urbi recens continuam potestatem et insolentia parendi graviolem mire temperavit. (Compare iv. 20, and *Agr.* 42, already cited.)

Ib. xiv. 47. 1, 2.—Eo anno mortem obiit Memmius Regulus, auctoritate, constantia, fama, in quantum praeumbrante imperatoris fastigio datur, clarus; adeo ut Nero, aeger valetudine, et adulantibus circum qui finem imperio adesse dicebant, si quid fato pateretur, responderit, 'habere subsidium rempublicam;' rogantibus dehinc 'in quo potissimum,' addiderat 'in Memmio Regulo.' Vixit *tamen* post haec Regulus, quiete defensum, et quia *nova generis claritudine* neque invidiosis opibus erat.

Ib. xvi. 16.—The chapter should be compared with iv. 33, already quoted, and the two with the introduction to the *Agricola*.

*Passages illustrative of Tacitus' opinions on Ethics, Religion,
Philosophy, and Astrology.*

Dial. xii. 4, 5.—Nec ullis aut gloria major aut augustior honor [quam poetis et vatribus], primum apud deos, quorum

proferre responsa et interesse epulis ferebantur, deinde apud illos diis genitos sacrosque reges, inter quos neminem causidicum, sed Orphea et Linum *ac si introspicere altius velis ipsum Apollinem* accepimus. Vel si haec fabulosa nimis et composita videntur, illud certe mihi concedis, etc.

Agr. 4. 3-5.—Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali comitate mistum ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo, solitum ipsum narrare se prima in juvenia studium philosophiae acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano et senatori, hausisse . . . Mox mitigavit ratio et aetas, retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

Ib. 46. 1.—Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur *magnae* animae, placide quiescas [note that this is conceived now as implying *consciousness* of rest and peace; contrast *Lucr.* iii. 910, *ad somnum si res redit atque quietem*, i.e. annihilation], nosque domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est.

Germ. 33. 1.—Chamavos et Angrivarios inmigrasse narratur, pulsus Bructeris ac penitus excisis, vicinarum consensu nationum; seu superbiae odio seu praedae dulcedine seu favore quodam erga nos deorum; nam ne spectaculo quidem praelii invidere.

Before any one calls this sentiment, and that of the rest of the chapter, impious and inhuman, let him compare 2 Chron. xx. 17-25; if, after study of the two passages, he continues to apply the same epithets to Tacitus, he has a right to his opinion.

Ib. 39. 4.—Ibi regnator omnium deus (of the local religion of the Semnones). The only passage where Tacitus uses *deus* in a monotheistic sense; in his account of Jewish monotheism (*Hist.* v. 5. 6), he uses the vaguer word *numen*, apparently thinking, like Strabo, that such spiritual theism verges on pantheism,—some called it atheism. Cf. *Germ.* 9. 3 *fin.*

- Hist.* i. 3. 3.—Nec enim umquam atrocioribus populi Romani cladibus magisque justis indiciis adprobatum est, non esse curae deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.
- Ib.* i. 18. 2.—Observatum id [sc. foedum imbribus diem, etc.] antiquitus comitiis dirimendis non terruit Galbam quominus in castra pergeret, contemptorem talium ut fortuitorum, seu quae fato manent, quamvis significata, non vitantur.
- Cf. iii. 56. 1; *Ann.* xii. 43. 1; 64. 1-3; xiv. 12. 3; xv. 4. 7, for omens more or less seriously regarded. Tacitus seems, on the whole, to have less faith in omens than in Astrology. In *Ann.* xiv. 12. 5, he writes as if the omens *ought* to have come true, but did not.
- Ib.* ii. 38. 5.—*Deum ira* coupled with *hominum rabies*, *scelerum causae*, as urging on the civil war.
- Ib.* ii. 50. 3.—Ut conquirere fabulosa, et fictis oblectare legentium animos procul gravitate coeptae operis crediderim, ita volgatis traditisque demere fidem non ausim.
- Ib.* ii. 91. 1, 2.—*Apud civitatem cuncta interpretantem*, funesti ominis loco acceptum est, quod Maximum Pontificatum adeptus Vitellius de caeremoniis publicis xv. kal. Aug. edixisset, antiquitus infausto die Cremerensi Alliensiisque cladibus; *adeo omnis humani divinique juris expertus* . . . agebat. *Sed* comitia consulum, etc.
- Ib.* iv. 81.—The miracles of Vespasian. Tacitus does not make himself responsible for the sentiments ascribed either to Vespasian, or to the surgeons consulted by him; but he seems to believe in the facts, and to incline (though half ashamed of the inclination) to admit their supernatural character.
- Ib.* *Fr.* 1.—Alii et Titus ipse evertendum templum in primis censebant, quo plenius Judaeorum et Christianorum religio tolleretur. Quippe has religiones, licet contrarias sibi, isdem tamen auctoribus profectas; Christianos ex Judaeis extitisse; radice sublata stirpem facile perituram.
- Ann.* i. 3. 3, ii. 71. 2, oppose natural death (*fato*) to death by treachery. The use of the mere word in the former passage (cf. vi. 10. 3, already quoted) is scarcely significant; the second passage is; but it should be remembered that the sentiment is dramatic, not Tacitus' own:—

Si fato concederem, justus mihi dolor etiam adversus deos esset, quod me parentibus, liberis, patriae, intra juventam praemature exitu raperent. Nunc scelere Pisonis et Plancinae interceptus, etc.

Nipperdey also refers to ii. 73. 2, 3.

Ann. iv. 1. 3.—(Sejanus gained his influence over Tiberius) non tam sollertia . . . quam deum ira in rem Romanam, cujus pari exitio viguit ceciditque. [Cf. xvi. 16. 3, Ira illa numinum in res Romanas fuit.]

Ib. iv. 20. 5.—(Already partly quoted for another purpose.) Unde dubitare cogor, fato et sorte nascendi, ut cetera, ita principum inclinatio in hos, offensio in illos, an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis, liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium pergere iter ambitione et periculis vacuum.

Ib. iv. 58. 3, 4.—Mox patuit breve confinium artis et falsi, veraque quam obscuris tegerentur. Nam in Urbem non regressurum (Tiberium) *haud forte dictum*; ceterorum nescii egere (periti caelestium), cum propinquo rure aut litore et saepe moenia Urbis adsidens extremam senectam compleverit.

The stars give as real oracles to Tiberius (or rather, in this case, to his ill-wishers), as Apollo gave to Croesus, or the witches to Macbeth.

Ib. vi. 21 *sq.*—Read the whole passage. It suggests that Tacitus was much more attracted towards belief in astrological fatalism than to the doctrine of philosophical necessity, which he here distinguishes from it; also, that he felt it necessary, in the interests of morality, to except the freedom of the human will from the operation of either.

Ib. xii. 43.—Men tempt Providence when they are improvident themselves—a reasonable sentiment enough. But note in § 3, '*magnaue deum benignitate*, et modestia hiemis, extremis rebus subventum'—which implies that men are dependent on the gods for safe navigation, but not for the productiveness of their own lands. Compare the sentiments of the Egyptians and of Herodotus (ii. 13 *sq.*), on the comparative trustworthiness of the Greek and Egyptian providences; also the doctrine of Dogberry, that 'to have a good

name is the gift of God, but to write and read comes by nature,' and that ascribed to Satan Montgomery, that 'God made the thunder, but the lightning made itself.' It is really not useless to take extreme instances that caricature the arbitrariness of popular thought in its canons for distinguishing the natural and the providential.

Ann. xiv. 5. 1.—Noctem sideribus inlustrem et placido mari quietam quasi convincendum ad scelus di praebuere.

Here, on the contrary, the gods are conceived as moral governors as well as rulers of nature. So *Hist.* iii. 72. 1, *propitiis, si per mores nostros liceret, deis* (see note).

Ib. xv. 44. 4.—Repressaue in praesens [Christianorum] exitiabilis superstitio rursum erumpebat, non modo per Judaeam, originem ejus mali, sed per Urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque.

Ib. xvi. 13. 1.—Tot facinoribus foedum annum etiam di tempestatibus et morbis insignivere. (Compare what was said on xiv. 5. 1.)

Ib. xvi. 33. 1.—Quo obsequio florentem Soranum celebraverat, labentem non deseruit, exutusque omnibus fortunis et in exilium actus, aequitate deum erga bona malaque documenta.

The most sceptical of Tacitus' expressions on the subject. We should remember that it is mere accident that for us it is his last.

Passages where Tacitus refers to special Authorities used by him.

Hist. iii. 25. 3 (Messala); 28. 1 (Messala, Pliny). *Ann.* i. 69. 3 (Pliny); 81. 1 ('*auctores*' and speeches of Tiberius); iii. 3. 2 ('*auctores*' and *acta diurna*); iv. 11. 4 (the confessions, no doubt officially recorded, of the murderers of Drusus; the silence of authors hostile to Tiberius is noted); 53. 3 (memoirs of Agrippina); vi. 7 (only speaks of the silence of

plerique scriptores); xii. 24. 4 (*publicis actis perscriptum*); xiii. 2. 3 (Fabius Rusticus, Pliny, Cluvius Rufus); xiv. 2. 1, 3, 4 (Fabius, Cluvius); 19 (M. Servilius is said to have been a historian, but is not quoted); xv. 16. 1 (Corbulo); 53. 4 (Pliny); 61. 6 (Fabius); 74. 3 (journals of the Senate).

III.—STYLE AND LANGUAGE OF TACITUS.

We have above drawn a distinction between Tacitus' character as a philosophical historian and as a literary artist; there is less fear of dispute as to his merits in the latter character than in the former, and less question where they are shown in the highest perfection. It may be doubted whether Tacitus, as he grew older, grew a more candid historian or a more judicious political thinker: but it is not doubtful that he grew a greater writer. The dramatic liveliness of the *Dialogue* makes it in some ways the pleasantest reading of any of his works, as it is the smoothest, and, apart from corruptions of the text, the easiest. He never surpassed, in eloquence and pathos, the opening and closing chapters of the *Agricola*; the *Germany* is unequalled, in all ancient literature, for the pure scientific spirit; and some may think the *Histories* superior to the *Annals* for candid and natural pictures of characters and events. But scarcely any one will deny that the *Annals* is, on the whole, his greatest work.¹ Although the eccentricity and

¹ Whether it was, as it appears to us, his *longest* work, is a very difficult question. Our only evidence as to the respective length of the *Annals* and *Histories* is a saying of St. Jerome's (*Comm. in Zach.* iii. 14), *Cornelius quoque* (besides Josephus) *Tacitus, qui post Augustum usque ad mortem Domitiani Vitas Caesarum triginta voluminibus exaravit*. If we admit St. Jerome's accuracy in this passage, it will follow that in the editions of his time, as in our second Medicean MS.—which, itself of the eleventh century represents a recension of the fourth—the *Annals* and

mannerism of style, absent from his earliest work, grows more and more marked in each of his later, yet there is an increase of literary power more than proportionate to the diminution of literary spotlessness. In truth, we scarcely feel a marked individual mannerism to be a blemish, when it is the protest of a strong mind against the conventional fashions fixed by inferior ones ; we feel that Tacitus first learns, and proves that he has learnt, to write as correct Ciceronian Latin as if he were fit for nothing but a rhetorician of the Ciceronian school, and that he thereby makes good his own claim to go his own way, despising the rules of art which hamper him, not neglecting them while needing their guidance.

The detailed consideration of the literary character of the *Dialogue* scarcely belongs to our present subject, but to the interesting though not very popular¹ study of the art of rhetoric

Histories were arranged as a continuous whole, and contained thirty books between them. It is therefore generally assumed that the *Annals* contained sixteen, the *Histories* fourteen. But Ritter very plausibly argues, that the last year and a half of Nero's reign, and the six months after his death, were too eventful to be comprised in half a book ; so he concludes that the *Annals* contained eighteen, and the *Histories* only twelve ; the latter being, he calculates, enough for the period contained in them, on the same scale of treatment as in the *Annals*. But twelve or even fourteen books are not enough for the period, on the same scale of treatment as the extant part of the *Histories*, allow as much as we will for the exceptionally eventful character of the first 'long year.' I venture to conjecture, that St. Jerome referred to the *Histories* only, which contained thirty books, but that by carelessness or lapse of memory he introduced an irrelevant reference to the whole period treated by Tacitus. It may be held to support this theory, that his younger contemporary Orosius, while making frequent use of the *Histories*, especially of the now lost portions, seems to know nothing of the *Annals* ; St. Jerome, on this view, knew of their existence, but had not a copy by him. It is certain that he is inaccurate in the title of the work he cites, whether it were more or less extensive.

¹ The only approach I know to an attempt to popularise it, is in Mr. A. W. Potts' *Hints towards Latin Prose Composition*, Part IV., 'On the Period in Latin Prose.'

among the Romans. It is suggested, that the two professed rhetoricians there introduced, Secundus and Aper (Messala, though a speaker, is also something more), are meant as representatives of two rival schools of style; Secundus, of whom enemies said, *non promptum esse sermonem*, and friends that *purus et pressus et, in quantum satis erat, profluens sermo non defuit*, will represent the *periodic* style, of which Cicero was the great example; Aper, whom the world judged *ingenio potius et vi naturae quam institutione et literis famam eloquentiae consecutum*, but who, as his admiring disciple thought, *omni eruditione imbutus, contemnebat potius literas quam nesciebat* (2. 1 *fin.* 2), will represent the detached, *sententious*, or *incisive* style of the Silver Age. The imitation of Cicero, preached by Quintilian and practised by Pliny, was not dominant nor perhaps altogether popular in the last quarter of the first century A.D. A style which some might call more vigorous, and others less correct, had come into use, and had in its favour at least the advantage of novelty; even apart from this, it had the qualities that gain applause, and serve to electrify the groundlings. Quintilian felt the distinction between the old school and the new to be one between true and false art; Tacitus, on the contrary, thinks either form of art legitimate, and inquires only how it is that the works of art are not by any method brought up to the old standard of excellence. For the present, he appears in the conservative or Ciceronian camp. The *Dialogue* is, in its whole conception, imitated from those of Cicero on rhetorical subjects; as in Cicero, the interlocutors make speeches instead of conversing, though there are more, or more successful, attempts than in Cicero to maintain colloquial ease and dramatic propriety.

We cannot tell whether the extant *Dialogue* is a *tour de force* to show that he also, like Aper, *contemnebat potius literas quam nesciebat*, or whether it is only a single specimen, accidentally

preserved, of a whole class of the author's early writings. But when, after fifteen years' silence, Tacitus begins to write again, he has broken completely with the Ciceronian tradition. He has not fallen in with the slighter and more careless structure of sentence that was becoming common ; he has gone a good deal beyond it, and yet holds himself aloof from it. No one could call his style careless or slipshod ; it is only on second thoughts that one would call it artificial. In a picturesque passage, he sometimes is really simple ; he often in his most laboured sentences gives the impression that the end he is labouring for is simplicity, only he is fastidious about the purity of the means by which his simple message is to be conveyed. When Tacitus has once chosen his side, and determined to risk harshness or obscurity rather than tediousness or diluted vapidity, he does nothing by halves. Having determined in what direction to look for excellence, in that direction he goes. Owing to the subject, the *Agricola* is naturally more rhetorical, the *Germany* more poetical, than the bulk of the later works ; but, allowing for this difference, we see the desire to be striking at any cost growing steadily upon the writer. In the *Annals*, where, from the remoteness in time of the events described, he was most disposed to look at them in a half ideal way, his artificial style is most appropriate, and in consequence is most freely developed ; if we say that it is in the *Annals* that we see Tacitus' literary art at its best, it is because there he has room to be most Tacitean.

It has been said, that the peculiarities of Tacitus' style may be all reduced to three—*brevitas, varietas, color poeticus*. The first characteristic is the surest to strike every reader ; the last is that the sense of which will grow most upon those who read observantly and intelligently ; the second (the habit of varying constructions in the course of a passage, for the variety's sake) seems the least closely bound up with the author's individu-

ality, and also the least valuable characteristic of the three. And these impressions, spontaneously arising, may be justified deductively. Tacitus is brief, because it is his nature or his choice to concentrate his whole attention on the point before him for the moment ; he is poetical, because he lives in an artificial, literary age, and the habit of thinking in terms of what he has read has become natural to him ; but when we ask why he varies his constructions arbitrarily, the principle *le style c'est l'homme* seems to fail us ; we can only answer that he does it 'because it was the way to be striking,' or 'because he thought it would look clever.'

The three peculiarities¹ may be successively analysed in detail, though no analysis can be so accurate as to dispense with the necessity of personal verification, or so complete as to supersede the instinctive insight that only comes from personal familiarity with the author. It thus appears useless to quote illustrative passages, unless really necessary to illustrate the terms used in describing them ; each rule of Tacitean language, if rightly reckoned as characteristic, will have a good many illustrations to be quoted for it, and the student who collects his own will be likely to appreciate the rule best, and (what is more important), to appreciate Tacitus best.

I. Of course the simplest method of securing brevity in a sentence is to leave out some of the words of which it is naturally composed. Ellipsis is very frequent in Tacitus, not for the sake of mere brevity, but in general because the words omitted are pointless ones, only connecting links between the

¹ Two of them have been made the subjects of monographs, Schmidt, *de ellipsi Tacitina*, and Goebel, *de Taciti poetico stili colore*. They are probably not generally accessible in England ; A. A. Draeger's exhaustive work *Ueber Syntax und Stil des Tacitus*, if it is not, ought to be. There is little in the text that is not found in one or the other of these, or at least suggested by them.

emphatic words on which he desires to concentrate our attention.

He omits the verb substantive very often, especially after *inde* and other words expressing origin. In some cases, of course, it is omitted in all writers, at least in the indicative ; but he omits it even in the subjunctive, if there is another verb co-ordinate with it in the sentence, from which it can be supplied in the proper mood and tense. (This even Sallust, the most like Tacitus of early writers in his grammatical wilfulness, never ventures on.) He omits it in the infinitive constantly—even where it is *fore* not *esse* that must be supplied. (This last is quite peculiar to him.)

He omits *verba sentiendi et dicendi*, even in the *Dialogue*. Characteristic of him, though not peculiar to him, is the habit of gradually *sliding* into *oratio obliqua*, so that the historian, from speaking in his own person, passes into a record of the sentiments of others—of others perhaps not named nor defined.

He uses the genitive of quality unusually often without a substantive for it to depend on.

He often omits *eo*, *tanto*, *potius*, in comparisons.

Asyndeton is characteristic of him ; so, on the other hand, is the emphatic use of a single conjunction at the beginning of a sentence. The word *ceterum* in particular has with him a peculiarly pregnant force, almost = *re vera autem* ; perhaps arising naturally from its original or at least etymological one, ‘at all events,’ but only found in Tacitus, and once in Suetonius (*Vit.* 2, *sed quod discrepat, sit in medio. Ceterum*, etc.). In general, it may be said that his use of conjunctions is peculiar.

From these suggestive transitions, we come naturally to the class of sentences which are rather compressed than elliptical. Tacitus does compress his sentences by all means in his power, but, as compression is a characteristic of all vigorous Latin, fewer of his methods for it are individually charac-

teristic. One should however be noticed—the use of an epexegetical or proleptic accusative, in apposition, so to speak, to the *action* of the verb (see *e.g.* *Hist.* i. 44. 3, and note). This is partly a Graecism that had come into fashion since Cicero, but mainly a peculiarity of his own. He introduces, on the same principle, parentheses *characterising* the action of the verb.

II. Tacitus' fondness for poetical language scarcely manifests itself more frequently than Livy's, but he goes further in the direction of pure poetry. Livy, it is noticed, begins his work with the first four feet of a hexameter, and is rather fond of ending a sentence with the last two ; but Tacitus oftener combines heroic rhythm with heroic style ; in the *Germany* (39. 2) he has one complete hexameter, much more like Virgil than the lumbering groups of six feet that ingenious people can detect in almost any prose, *e.g.* the opening of the *Annals*, are like even Ennius.

It is a question how far Tacitus' inclination for poetical style was a matter of fashion, how far of personal taste. That the former theory is not inadmissible is shown by *Dial.* 20. 5, *Exigitur enim jam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor, non Accii aut Pacuvii veterno inquinatus, sed ex Horatii et Virgilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus ; horum igitur auribus et judiciis obtemperans nostrorum oratorum aetas pulchrior ei ornatior extitit.* But with himself, if he does follow a fashion, the mark of individuality is strong ; his language is not merely poetical, but Virgilian. In the cases where he writes with a traceable reminiscence of a particular passage, it is oftener one from Virgil than from any prose author that he imitates—next most frequently Livy, and perhaps Cicero ; Sallust not so often, though in general style, and in some of his individual grammatical peculiarities, he resembles him more than any earlier writer.

Of his grammatical variations from prose usage and approximation to that of poetry, the widest in range is a tendency to do more by case inflexions and less by prepositions. He omits *e.g.* oftener than most writers the preposition with the ablative of motion from a place; he uses also the simple ablative of rest in a place, when the noun designating the place either has an epithet or a genitive depending on and qualifying it. Similarly, he extends the usage of the simple accusative to express motion to a place; he uses it with the names not only of towns, but of nations or countries (in *Ann.* xii. 32. 1, we should probably read *inde Cangos*). He uses the dative of the agent freely.

With this tendency to omit prepositions may be compared another, common to him and Lucan, to use simple verbs in the sense of compounds.

The substantival use of adjectives is common.

In the order of words, he has a tendency to put the subject at the end of the sentence. This is commoner in poetry than prose.

He has not very many uses of words exclusively poetical; *sistere*, 'to place, set in a certain spot' (as Virg. *Aen.* iv. 634), and *cognomentum*, in the mere sense of 'name,' may be so considered; also *sponte* with the genitive is characteristic of Tacitus and Lucan. He is fond of verbals in *-tor*, and has several which are either peculiar to him, or are elsewhere poetical or post-classical.

III. Varieties in construction are of course difficult to classify; in many cases, they consist simply in this, that whereas any writer might have constructed a sentence on either of two plans, Tacitus has chosen to construct half on one and half on the other. Under this head, however, may be grouped most of those peculiarities of construction which do not fall under either of the former.

He uses verbs with the accusative that are transitive in sense, but are generally followed by other cases. Similarly, he forms passives from verbs properly intransitive; also he uses deponent participles in a passive sense.

With this may be associated his use of the verbs *coepe* and *desino* with passive infinitives: this is not absolutely peculiar to him, but is post-Augustan.

He is fond of throwing *oratio obliqua* into an impersonal form; see e.g. *Hist.* i. 50. 1 and note.

He uses the present participle with a genitive more frequently, and in more words than most writers, especially earlier ones.

The Historical Infinitive is frequent in him—not so frequent as in Sallust.

He uses the perfect where the pluperfect would be more natural.

He uses, more commonly than other writers, the imperfect for verbs depending on a historical present.

He uses the conjunctive often in a potential sense.

He is tolerant of the irregularity by which, *κατὰ σύνεσιν*, a singular subject is joined with a plural verb, or conversely.

Similarly, he joins substantives and adjectives of different genders.

He forms a good many unusual or abnormal comparatives—not so many absolutely as Cicero, but probably more in proportion to the extent of his works. (Draeger refuses to acknowledge the form *cunctatior*, supposed to mean ‘more of a cunctator,’ in *Hist.* iii. 4. 2; it occurs also in Suet. *Jul.* 60, but in both places it is easy to read *cunctantior*.)

The gerundive genitive, in a final sense, is commoner perhaps in Tacitus than in any other author. This may be an individual peculiarity, akin to fondness for ellipsis, or may be accidentally representative of his age. The construction is not

found between Terence and Velleius ; but its occurrence in early Latin perhaps shows that it is not a conscious Graecism.

He often employs an adverb by itself as predicate of a sentence.

Some peculiarities in his use of particles have been already noticed. He uses *an* for 'or,' where there is no question, and without a particle in the clause expressing the first alternative, oftener than any one else, though this is not altogether peculiar to him.

He uses *non* and *neque* (rather than *ne* or *neve*), with the conjunctive in an optative sense.

He has *quamquam* with the indicative perhaps more frequently than usual.

In the order of words he varies from common usage more than in constructions. We have already noticed the frequency of his keeping the subject to the end of the sentence ; and as he thus inverts the natural order in the sentence as a whole, so in the parts of it, or secondary predications. Thus we find the adjective before the substantive more commonly in him than in most Latin.

It seems to be almost a converse case to this, where the *cognomen* is placed before the gentile name. The *cognomen* was a *personal* name in its later as in its earlier usage, though in the two last centuries of the Republic it had become virtually hereditary—yet not more than were certain *prænomina* [see on *Hist.* ii. 48. 5] which of course were primarily personal. Dio wrote (at least we can scarcely suppose that Xiphilinus wrote out of his own head) Γάλλος ὁ Σέρονιος ὁ Σουλπίκιος. But though Tacitus does invert these names not seldom, it can hardly be said to be a peculiarity of his ; names had often been inverted, at least in poetry *metri gratia*, ever since the days of the epitaph of

CORNELIUS LUCIUS SCIPIO BARBATUS.

An inversion more characteristic of Tacitus is the placing *titles* before names.

Remarkable in Tacitus, though not peculiar to him, is the habit of separating, by one or more words, two words closely united in construction. This becomes more and more frequent from the time of Cicero onwards. One instance to which these remarks especially apply is the insertion of *ipse* between the two agreeing words of an ablative absolute.

The anastrophe of a preposition is more or less characteristic of Tacitus. His placing a preposition after *two* cases depending on it is absolutely peculiar to him; putting it *between* the two is nearly so; putting it after a single case is of course not unknown elsewhere, though more frequent with him than any one. He often inserts the preposition between the substantive and adjective, which is elsewhere mostly poetical; and he is the only prose author who inserts it between substantives in apposition.

There are instances, less easy to classify, of similar anastrophe of conjunctions.

The text of this edition is Orelli's. On a comparison of those that have appeared since his, I feel as if more scholarly ingenuity than soundness of judgment had been employed on its emendation. Ritter's *collation* of the chief mss. (M and M^a), is preferred to Baiter's, which Orelli used; but the text of Ritter's (nearly contemporary) edition seems far less judicious than Orelli's. The truth is, that so far as Tacitus' text has been preserved at all, it has been preserved in a very satisfactory condition; just because there never were many copies of him, the few copies we have have come to us through few hands. There are comparatively few passages where critical sagacity is called for at all, except in the two places where a pair of leaves has been lost from our archetypal ms. (that here

cited as M, *i.e.*, *Mediceus*, but called M^a where it is necessary to distinguish it from the ms. of the earlier books of the *Annals*, also in the Florentine Library) and in these it seems that the most conservative treatment is the wisest.

The only point upon which I thought it possible to improve materially upon Orelli, is his orthography. No doubt on this point more is known as to Latin usage than was known twenty-seven years ago ; and it is no doubt desirable that what is already known to the learned should, as speedily as possible, be passed on to the common stock of the well-informed. But it seemed to be beyond the scope of the present work to enter into discussions of the *transitional* usages of Tacitus' time ; and Orelli's usage is not really misleading, though it might have been better if he had adhered more consistently to the ms. reading in doubtful or variable points. Every one now admits we ought to write *tempto*, not *tento* as he did, and a few other corrections might be pointed out, of much the same degree of importance ; also it appears certain that Tacitus habitually wrote *expecto*, *extitit*, etc., not *exs*. In writing the syllable *vō* or *vu*, usage was changing in Tacitus' time ; in this point at least Orelli adheres closely to his ms. evidence, and, I do not doubt, rightly. But it seems a mere affectation to reject the distinction—which the ancient Latin alphabet craved for and the modern has attained—between the vowels *i* and *u* and the semivowels *j* and *v*.

In exegesis, I have found more help from Orelli's notes than from any other source. It is rather strange that so difficult and yet so popular an author should have so few exegetical commentaries. Next to Orelli, I have made most use of Church and Brodribb's translation—to which I desire to do justice here, because most of my mentions of it in the notes express dissent. As a translation—a reproduction of the original, to be read in its place—I think their work has been

overrated ; but the more any one learns how difficult Tacitus is to translate, the more will he recognise the difficulty and the utility of having an expression, such as any well-considered translation gives, of a deliberate and definite even if not a final view on the question of his precise meaning.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

- P. 3.—Note on c. 1, § 4, *nostram*. This note should be modified by reference to the Introduction, Part I.
- P. 4.—Note on c. 2, § 1, *for* 'see Preface,' *read* 'see Introduction, p. lviii.'
- P. 12, ll. 1, 5, and note on c. 8, § 1; p. 13, l. 1; p. 23, l. 8 (*bis*), *for* *tanquam* *read* *tamquam*.
Similarly, at p. 14, l. 4, *for* *quanquam* *read* *quamquam*.
- P. 13.—On § 7, *add* the note, '*Voluisse*. M. has *noluisse*, which recent editors have, no doubt rightly, found courage to restore.'
- P. 14, l. 8, *for* *immotus* *read* *inmotus*.
- P. 19.—(First genealogical table), *for* 'Tib. Claudius Drusus' *read* 'D. Claudius Drusus.'
- P. 62.—Instead of the third note on c. 58, § 1, *read*:—
Partim. M. has *paro*; *raro* seems on palæographical grounds to be a better emendation.
- P. 82.—Note on c. 82, § 4, *for* *intentum* *read* *intentus*.
- P. 86.—To the note on c. 83, § 7, *add* 'Others read *si cur*, which gives perhaps the completest sense.'
- P. 142.—To the note on c. 57, § 2, *add* 'M. has *delecta*, and, like the best MSS. in general, spells *dilectibus* just above; it therefore is probably best to read *e Br. exercitu delecta*.'
- P. 156, l. 2, *for* *omina* *read* *omnia*.
- P. 163.—To the note on c. 80, § 2, *mutationis*, *add* 'Triller's *altitudinis* is both nearer to the MS., and seems more pointed in sense.'

CORNELII TACITI HISTORIARUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

I INITIUM mihi operis Servius Galba iterum Titus Vinius consules erunt. Nam post conditam urbem octingentos et viginti prioris aevi annos multi auctores rettulerunt, dum res

CH. I. 1 **Initium . . . consules erunt**] 'The beginning of my work shall be the consulship of . . .' In English we should use the abstract word, while in Latin it is kept in the concrete; a participle or adjective, or substantive in apposition, being added to the main substantive. The repetition of these words in II. 5 presents no difficulty, else the construction is perhaps commoner in the oblique cases, e.g. Cic. *Phil.* xiii. 16. 33 *init.*, '*securi percussos Petrum et Macedonum . . . laudastis*,' 'You approved of the execution of . . .' Perhaps the closest parallel to this particular expression is found in Greek, ἐπ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀρχῶν, Aesch. in *Ctes.* § 62.

Servius Galba] The Gentile name Sulpicius is omitted—Servius, scarcely less than Galba, being characteristic of that house, cf. ii. 47. 5. **iterum**] His former consulship was in A.D. 33, see *Ann.* vi. 20. 3. Even if he were not the emperor, the consul who had held the office before would be naturally mentioned first, while in English we

should more naturally mention what belonged only to one member of a sentence, in the second member than in the first. Here we might translate: 'the second consulship of Galba, with T. Vinius.'

Nam] The connexion is 'Here we begin modern history,—modern, though not the most recent. The earlier history has already been treated often,—that of the Republic well, that of the hereditary Caesars according to men's partialities. In the period I now treat of (that of the Civil Wars and of the Flavii), I mean to shun all partiality; if I live to treat of our own happier times, impartiality will be a cheap and easy virtue.'

octingentos et viginti] 822, according to the common reckoning. Either Tacitus follows the other (commonly called Catonian) chronology, or he uses a round number. So again iv. 58. 8, which is spoken a year later, and so, if anything, supports the second view. In *Ann.* xiii. 58, the number must be corrupt or careless; tradition makes the Twins found the city when only

populi Romani memorabantur, pari eloquentia ac libertate. Postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad ² unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere; simul veritas pluribus modis infracta, primum inscitia rei publicae ut alienae, mox libidine adsentandi aut rursus odio

eighteen; reading *octingentos et triginta*, this would give the common date.

res populi Romani] 'The history of the *nation* of Rome,' opposed to that of the court. We have a similar expression as well as thought in *Ann.* i. 1. 4, iv. 32. 1.

eloquentia ac libertate] The loss of the first quality is indicated by *magna . . . cessere*, that of the second by *veritas . . . infracta*.

2 Postquam . . . cessere] Tacitus means that the monarchy established after Actium cut off the supply of great historians, as well as that it was the limit of the time treated by great historians. Livy, though he wrote under Augustus, had grown up under the Republic; and if not exactly a republican, was called by Augustus a Pompeian.

potentiam] So M. Bekker, following the secondary MSS. and Ernesti, wished to read *potestatem*, because '*potestas confertur, potentia paratur*.' The truth is, *potentia* means extra-legal, *potestas*, legal power; now the empire might be conceived as either, according to men's political views, and the oxymoron *potentiam conferri* very accurately expresses Tacitus's own attitude towards the question between them. In the abstract, all despotic power was an usurpation; in fact, it was undeniable that the despotism was the only lawful or possible government. In *Ann.* iii. 69. 6, we have *both* nouns (and *imperium* also) used of the imperial power—*potentia* there being, as usual, meant as a rather invidious word.

veritas] Means, perhaps, more often 'truthfulness' (as here) than 'truth,' while *verus* is oftener 'real' of things or 'true' of propositions than 'truthful' of persons—though the last is not unknown.

inscitia rei publicae ut alienae] 'Ignorance of the nation's affairs, as not being affairs of theirs,' but of the nation's single ruler. *Res publica* is exactly the same as the *res populi Romani* of the last §. So it ought to be etymologically (Cic. *de Rep.* i. 26. 41), and so Persius (iv. 1), '*Rem populi tractas, metri gratia*, where in prose one would say, *rem publicam tractare* or *capessere*. *Res publica*, though it sometimes passes from the abstract 'state affairs' to the concrete 'state,' never leaves its etymology quite behind it; hence, while in literal meaning exactly equivalent to the English 'commonwealth,' in political terminology it is more like 'constitution' (in Sall. *Cat.* 51. 17, '*aliena a republica nostra*' is exactly our 'unconstitutional'). Like 'constitution' or *πολιτεία*, *res publica* tends to imply popular freedom, and does imply recognition of popular rights; but it does not imply a 'republican' form of government; perhaps it comes nearest to it in i. 16. 1, 50. 3, while we see the tendency in this passage and the parallel exordium to the *Annals*. It excludes a despotism or *δυναστεία* where the ruler or rulers *rem suam agunt, non publicam*, but not a legitimate and national monarchy, even though as absolute as the Persian (Cic. *l.c.* sqq.)

primum . . . mox] The earlier

adversus dominantes: ita neutris cura posteritatis, inter infensos vel obnoxios. Sed ambitionem scriptoris facile 3 averseris, obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur: quippe adulationi foedum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest. Mihi Galba Otho Vitellius nec 4 beneficio nec injuria cogniti. Dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano inchoatam, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius provectam non abnuerim: sed incorruptam fidem professis neque amore quisquam et sine odio dicendus est. Quodsi 5

defect would apply to writers of the age of Augustus, the second to those under the Claudii; of extant writers, the first might include Livy, the second would include Velleius. The first charge (that indifference to constitutional practice led to mistakes in constitutional theory) perhaps lends some support to the view of Niebuhr, that the ancient constitution was less understood, and the ancient history less faithfully treated, by the Augustan historians than by the antiquarians of the second century.

neutris] Neither the flatterers nor the slanderers of the emperors cared for posterity (whose only interest was to have truth told), only to give vent to their *ex parte* statements.

inter . . . vel] Because their contemporaries, for whom they did care, shared their own partial passions or interests. One would have expected *inter . . . atque*, but Tacitus has chosen to say 'in the midst of men *either* avowed enemies *or* bound to servility,' instead of '*between the hostile and the servile.*' For *obnoxios*, cf. Livy xxiii. 12. 5, where it is opposed to *superbus*.

3 ambitionem] Oftener, in earlier writers, of interested court paid to the people than to an individual, as of course is more natural from the etymology, *e.g.*

Sall. *Jug.* 45. 1. But the change of sense came insensibly with the change of government.

malignitati] Comes near to the sense of 'malignity,' being properly 'giving a man less than his due.'

4 nostram] His own personally,—not his family's,—which, however, was of equestrian rank, and so not noble, though respectable, a generation earlier,—for the Cornelius Tacitus of Plin. *N. H.* 7. 17. must have been a relation, though it is only a conjecture that he was his father. He *may* have been a patrician Cornelius; at any rate, he has caught the tone of a Roman noble too well to make us think that he came (as is likely enough of Cornelius Laco, and other soldiers of the name) of the foreigners and freedmen with whom Sulla had flooded Italy.

a Domitiano] Under him he was Praetor and Quindecimvir (*Ann.* xi. 11. 3), and apparently a prominent member of the Senate, as he seems to reproach himself (*Agr.* 45. 1) for sharing its servility. We can only infer from the ordinary hierarchical routine what were the dignities he held under Vespasian and Titus.

neque amore quisquam et sine odio] *Neque . . . et* is a common form enough of pointing an antithesis, and Tacitus uses it here to produce the sense, 'having proclaimed my intention to be im-

vita suppeditet, principatum divi Nervae et imperium Trajani, uberiorem securioremque materiam, senectuti seposui, rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quae velis, et quae sentias dicere licet.

- 2 Opus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox praeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevom. Quattuor principes ferro interempti. Trina bella civilia, plura externa ac plerum-
que permixta. Prosperae in Oriente, adversae in Occidente res. Turbatum Illyricum; Galliae nutantes; perdomita 3

partial, as I shall of course not give way to affection, so I must speak without hatred,' which he might more easily be suspected of. But here the form of the antithesis produces a little confusion; for one could not say *sine odio quisquam dicendus est*: some distributive pronoun must be supplied in the second clause.

5] Tacitus seems, when he began the *Annales ab excessu divi Augusti*, to have abandoned this project,—not simply deferred it, as in *Ann.* iii. 24. 4 he contemplates writing, 'if his life lasted long enough,' a history of the reign, not of Trajan, but of Augustus.

principatum . . . imperium] The civil and military sides of the imperial power, thus naturally ascribed to the man of peace and the conqueror respectively.

securiorem] 'Less anxious,' less painful to contemplate; also no doubt less likely to give offence, but Tacitus does not affect to think his plain speaking about the past dangerous; he only means, 'I shall not be afraid to write Trajan's life while Trajan lives, as I should have been to write Domitian's.'

CH. II. 1] 'The work I prepare to encounter is one rich in strokes of fate, hideous with battle, distracted with sedition.'

Quattuor principes] Galba, Otho, and Vitellius are plainly three; the

fourth must be Domitian, not Nero. Not only have we external evidence (rather provoking, but undeniable; see Preface) that Domitian's death was included in the work; in this c. events of his reign are plainly spoken of, and at what point before his death could the book have ended?

Trina bella civilia] There was none at the death of Galba, but there was one between Otho and Vitellius, one between Vitellius and Vespasian. The third *must* apparently be the revolt of Saturninus against Domitian; though there had been between Vindex and the troops still adhering to Nero what is certainly called a civil war, in ii. 6. 3, and deserves the title perhaps better than the latter, yet it cannot, any more than Nero's death, be said to be comprised in this work. The only mention made of either that is more than an allusion is in c. 4, and this is expressly announced as coming before the author sets in order the work of his main purpose.

2 plerumque permixta] 'And the two generally united,' as when Civilis professed to be fighting for Vespasian. Antonius Saturninus also had engaged German auxiliaries.

Prosperae . . . res] Judaea was thoroughly conquered, and the threats from Parthia came to nothing, while Gaul revolted and Germany became dangerous.

3 perdomita] By Agricola.

Britannia et statim missa; coortae in nos Sarmatarum ac Suevorum gentes; nobilitatus cladibus mutuis Dacus; mota prope etiam Parthorum arma falsi Neronis ludibrio. Jam vero Italia novis cladibus vel post longam seculorum seriem repetitis afflicta. Haustae aut obrutae urbes fecundissima Campaniae ora. Et urbs incendiis vastata, consumptis antiquissimis delubris, ipso Capitolio civium manibus incenso. Pollutae caerimoniae, magna adulteria. Plenum exsiliis mare, infecti caedibus scopuli. Atrocius in urbe saevitum. Nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique honores pro crimine, et ob virtutes

missa] 'Let go,' rather than 'lost.' One might compare the phrase *missum facere*, 'to dismiss,' and Horace's *non missura cutem* . . . *hirudo* (*A. P.*, fin.) The statement is only true if taken in close connexion with *perdomita*. Agricola marched, gaining victories, to the extreme north, and the country overrun by him was not retained; this Tacitus conceives as a conquest of the whole island, followed by a retreat within the old limits.

Neronis ludibrio] Probably not that mentioned in ii. 8, 9, but one more dangerous, in the time of Domitian, or perhaps of Titus. Nero's personal popularity made him one of the monarchs, like James IV. and Sebastian, whose death is disbelieved by the people; and such disbelief either passes into a mythical expectation of his return (as with Arthur or Barbarossa), or gives an opening to a series of human impostors (as with Demetrius of Russia). With Nero, both results seem to have followed. And Christian tradition, as well as modern exegesis, supports the interpretation of Rev. xiii., in relation to him.

4 Jam vero] 'But then (besides those imperial disasters) here commences a period of disasters to Italy unknown before, or such as make one go far back to find a parallel.'

repetitis] Almost, 'brought from a very deep corner in the stores of the past.'

5 Haustae would especially apply to Herculaneum, *obrutae* to Pompeii.

fecundissima . . . ora] Most simply taken as an ablative in locative sense, but may be a nominative in apposition to *urbes*, the cities being conceived as forming the coast-line.

Et gives emphasis by coming in the midst of an asyndeton, so that it is almost as much as '*etiam Capitolio . . . incenso*,' iii. 76 sqq.

consumptis . . . delubris] Probably refers to the fire in Titus's reign, A.D. 80.

6 magna] 'In high places.'

mare] Probably 'every island was a prison,' possibly, 'the sea was covered with ships bearing men to banishment.'

infecti . . . scopuli] When a man nominally exiled (see, e.g. 46. 8) was to be executed or assassinated (the line between the two was imperceptible), of course the place chosen for exile would not only be isolated but desolate. Possibly also sometimes a cliff would be chosen for the scene, to give a colour of accident or suicide.

7 pro crimine] Rather 'served for accusation,' than 'stood in the place of crime;' though if *crimen* could come so near in meaning to

certissimum exitium. Nec minus praemia delatorum invisa quam scelera, cum alii sacerdotia et consulatus ut spolia adepti, procurationes alii et interiorem potentiam, agerent verterent cuncta odio et terrore. Corrupti in dominos servi, 8 in patronos liberti; et quibus deerat inimicus, per amicos 3 oppressi. Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile seculum ut non et bona exempla prodiderit. Comitatae profugos liberos matres, secutae maritos in exsilia conjuges; propinqui audentes, constantes generi; contumax etiam adversus tormenta

scelus, the latter would give a more forcible antithesis to *ob virtutes certissimum exitium*.

procurationes] The procurators (at least the merely fiscal ones) were no more than Caesar's stewards; the governors, even of an imperial province, bore more the character of public functionaries.

interiorem emphasizes the force *potentiam* always has (as noted on I. 2) of secret and, by implication, discreditable influence.

agerent verterent] The asyndeton is probably suggested by the familiar phrase *agere ferre*.

8] The slave is conceived as being in a personal relation to his master, and under an obligation of personal loyalty (*pietas*) to him. Such is the sentiment of Virg. *Aen.* vi. 613, '*quique arma secuti Impia, nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras.*' It is of course less unnatural to our minds that such an obligation should be conceived to exist on the part of the freedman; as his master has conferred rights on him, he may lay claim to compensating duties. But ancient (and particularly Roman) moral, no less than legal, conceptions, were 'based on *status*, not on contract,' nor even on reciprocity.

CH. III. *secutae . . . conjuges*] He is perhaps thinking of Fannia, the wife of Helvidius, though his death cut short the companionship

on his *second* banishment, which alone would fall within this work.

audentes, constantes] If a man embarked on a dangerous career, relations of his own standing would feel bound in honour to share it; it would be enough for men of a younger generation if they stood by him when in trouble.

generi] For the tenderness of this relationship at Rome, cf. Cat. 72. 4, '*pater ut natos diligit et generos.*' In most states of society, the first steps for arranging a marriage are taken by the bridegroom or his family; at Rome they seem to have been taken by the bride's family. Plutarch thought it an extreme case when Ap. Claudius 'courted' Tib. Gracchus for his daughter; yet *quaerere* or *deligere generum* are common phrases (e.g. inf. iii. 5. 4, of Thræsea and Helvidius); while there is no Latin word meaning distinctively 'to woo,' and the substantive *procus* is rare in prose, almost unknown in historians. Writers of Epithalamia thought it elegant to represent the bridegroom at least as impassioned; but the ideal of sober moralists was, that the honourable state should be embraced apart from personal bias, and this made it natural that it should be a matter rather of arrangement than of choice,—'*ne tanquam maritum sed tanquam matrimonium ament*' (cf. *Germ.*

servorum fides; supremae clarorum virorum necessitates; ipsa necessitas fortiter tolerata, et laudatis antiquorum mortibus pares exitus. Praeter multiplices rerum humanarum casus 2
 caelo terraque prodigia et fulminum monitus et futurorum praesagia, laeta tristia, ambigua manifesta. Nec enim unquam 3
 atrocioribus populi Romani cladibus magisve justis indiciis adprobatum est non esse curae deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.

- 4 Ceterum antequam destinata componam, repetendum videtur qualis status urbis, quae mens exercituum, quis habitus provinciarum, quid in toto terrarum orbe validum, quid aegrum fuerit, ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio etiam causaeque noscantur. Finis 2

19. 4). Pompey is thought to have married Julia 'for love,' and does not seem to have had any personal regard for her father; but the successive marriages of the other Julia, Augustus' daughter, illustrate the way that a man's political inheritance was ordinarily devolved. There is a similar significance in the marriages of Gracchus and Priscus before referred to; perhaps one might add the cases of Laelius and Scaevola, of Agricola and Tacitus himself.

supremae . . . necessitates] 'Compelled suicides,' so *infr.* 72. 5, *Ann.* xi. 37. 4, and *necessitas ultima* in *Ann.* xv. 61 fin. Tacitus abounds in euphemistic paraphrases for suicide,—just as the Japanese *Hara kiri* is said now to be thought a coarse expression, and it has been superseded by another word. In fact, imperial Rome and modern Japan are almost unique cases of suicide becoming 'a national vice,' enforced, like duelling in modern Europe, by a code of honour on a certain class in certain cases.

3] For the sentiment, cf. Lucan

iv. 807 sqq., '*Si libertatis superis tam cura placeret Quam vindicta placet.*' For the pessimist, yet hardly sceptical, religious tone, cf. *Agr.* 46. 1.

nostram] If Tacitus was actually thinking of the passage in Lucan, this must mean *populi Romani*, else one might more naturally take it in a general sense, 'of us men.' The relation of *nostram* to *ultionem* is obscure; is it 'vengeance on us' or 'vengeance for us'? If Lucan is a sure parallel, he will decide for the latter view.

CH. IV. 1] 'But before I set in order the work proposed for my task, I think it necessary to retrace the question, how the capital stood how the armies were affected, how the provinces were disposed; what elements of strength or weakness there were in the whole world, that a view may be gained, not only of circumstances and events, which are generally accidental, but of the pervading principle and reasons.' The sense of the last clause is,—one can trace a principle in the general outline and tendency of the history of a period; but particular

Neronis ut laetus primo gaudentium impetu fuerat, ita varios motus animorum non modo in urbe apud patres aut populum aut urbanum militem, sed omnes legiones ducesque conciverat, evulgato imperii arcano, posse principem alibi quam Romae fieri. Sed patres laeti, usurpata statim libertate licentius ut 3 erga principem novum et absentem; primores equitum proximi gaudio patrum; pars populi integra et magnis domibus adnexa, clientes libertique damnatorum et exsulum, in spem erecti: plebs sordida et circo ac theatri sueta, simul deterrimi ser-

events cannot be affiliated to it, or to any assignable cause.

2 gaudentium impetu] We should say, 'the first transport of *men's joy*;' in Latin, as usual, a concrete expression is preferred to an abstract.

aut . . . aut] Almost 'among the senate, the people, and the army *respectively*.'

conciverat] Joined by a rather harsh zeugma with the two dissimilar accusatives, *varios motus animorum* and *omnes legiones ducesque*: 'had roused, not only various feelings in the city, . . . but the legions and their commanders also.' And the harshness is increased by the unsymmetrical position of *non modo . . . sed*; in fact Tacitus had begun as though he meant to write *varios motus animorum non modo in urbe . . . sed inter legiones ducesque conciverat*. Then it occurred to him that the armies were aroused, not their feelings only; and so he omitted the preposition in the latter clause, without altering the former to suit it.

posse . . . fieri] This was the absolute novelty; else Claudius had been appointed by the army, before the senate's consent was asked or extorted.

3] 'But the Fathers rejoiced, having felt the less restraint in asserting their liberty when the emperor they had to deal with was a new one, and absent.'

usurpata . . . erga is not quite 'asserted *against*,' for *erga* is almost always of friendly relations; still the assertion or exercise of liberty implies a person to be free from.

pars populi integra] Probably in apposition to *clientes libertique damnatorum*, the latter being epexegetical of *magnis domibus adnexa*. It is indeed quite possible that the two classes, though partly identified, are not meant to be co-extensive; but it is needless and harsh to assume an asyndeton. The uncorrupted part of the people was preserved from corruption by having some tie to the national honour, and the most general tie was connexion with great houses, and the commonest connexion was *clientela* (though Or. is relevant on *adnexa*, '*varias per necessitudines ut puta per clientelas, per procuraciones reddituum ac latifundiorum, per rem etiam fenestram*'). Again, most great houses had had their chief members condemned, so that *clientes libertique damnatorum* would form, if not the whole of the *pars populi integra*, its largest and best defined section. The only peculiarity is, that Tacitus should speak of clients, and even freedmen, in such honourable terms; but historians do not feel this difficulty as editors seem to do. He is talking of the city population only,—and there a poor

vorum, aut qui adesis bonis per dedecus Neronis alebantur, 5 maesti et rumorum avidi. Miles urbanus longo Caesarum sacramento inbutus, et ad destituendum Neronem arte magis et impulsu quam suo ingenio traductus, postquam neque dari donativum sub nomine Galbae promissum, neque magnis meritis ac praemiis eundem in pace quem in bello locum, praeventamque gratiam intelligit apud principem a legionibus factum, pronus ad novas res, scelere insuper Nymphidii Sabini praefecti imperium sibi molientis agitur. Et Nymphidius 2 quidem in ipso conatu oppressus: sed quamvis capite defectionis ablato, manebat plerisque militum conscientia, nec deerant sermones senium atque avaritiam Galbae increpantium. Laudata olim et militari fama celebrata severitas ejus angebat 3 aspernantes veterem disciplinam, atque ita quattuordecim annis a Nerone adsuefactos, ut haud minus vitia principum amarent quam olim virtutes verebantur. Accessit Galbae vox 4

citizen had no career except that of a self-respecting bedesman or an exacting pauper,—so he identifies the respectable class with the former. What there was of an industrial and mercantile class will indeed be included in the *pars integra*; but this also would largely consist of freedmen.

qui . . . alebantur] Well illustrated by what is said of Vitellius, ii. 71. 2.

CH. V. 1 inbutus] ‘Into whose nature the long habit of sworn allegiance to the Caesars had sunk.’ Notice that *Caesarum* is still a dynastic name rather than an official title; one thing we miss, from not having Tacitus’s account of Galba’s accession, is the transition from one to the other; cf. ii. 62. 3.

impulsu means a force at once *external* and *momentary*.

dari] The present is perhaps used because of the awkwardness of the periphrasis that forms the only equivalent for the fut. inf. pass.,

or rather it gives a slightly different sense: ‘they saw there was no sign of the largesse coming that had been promised in Galba’s name.’

neque . . . locum] If more of a fight had been made on Nero’s behalf, there would have been thanks for the troops who fought for Galba or seasonably deserted Nero. As it was, there might be some for the legions who had supported Galba, but none for the praetorians who had passively accepted him.

Nymphidii] *Ann.* xv. 72. 3, 4.

2 conscientia] The *consciousness* of *complicity*—both the fact that they had known his designs and the fact that they remembered it now.

3 militari fama] No doubt chiefly of the legionaries, though the *miles urbanus* would very likely hear of it and speak well of it, so long as it was at a distance.

ita . . . adsuefactos ut] ‘Whom Nero’s influence for fourteen years had brought into such habits that . . .’

pro re publica honesta, ipsi anceps, legi a se militem, non emi.
 6 Nec enim ad hanc formam cetera erant. Invalidum senem
 Titus Vinus et Cornelius Laco, alter deterrimus mortalium,
 alter ignavissimus, odio flagitiorum oneratum contemptu
 inertiae destruebant. Tardum Galbae iter et cruentum, inter- 2
 fectis Cingonio Varrone consule designato et Petronio Tur-
 piliano consulari: ille ut Nymphidii socius, hic ut dux Neronis,
 inauditi atque indefensi tanquam innocentes perierant.
 Introitus in urbem trucidatis tot milibus inermium militum 3
 infaustus omine, atque ipsis etiam qui occiderant formidolosus.
 Inducta legione Hispana, remanente ea quam e classe Nero 4
 conscripserat, plena urbs exercitu insolito. Multi ad hoc
 numeri e Germania ac Britannia et Illyrico, quos idem Nero
 electos praemissosque ad claustra Caspiarum et bellum quod
 in Albanos parabat, opprimendis Vindicis coeptis revocaverat:
 ingens novis rebus materia, ut non in unum aliquem pronò

pro re p.] Probably 'as spoken in the name of the state;' though one might take it 'as from the champion of the public interest.'

ipsi anceps] Probably explained by *nec enim . . . erant* to mean 'of questionable fitness to his person.' Else one might take it 'doubtful,' i.e. dangerous 'to himself.'

legi] *Legere* is not quite a technical term for the chief of the state 'levying' soldiers (though such a sense is implied in *legio*), but its usage rather suggests the *vir virum legit* of 18. 3.

deterrimus . . . ignavissimus] Fullest respectively of positive and negative vices. Tacitus is less severe upon Vinus in his detailed character in i. 48.

CH. VI. 1 odio. . . destruebant] He started under the weight of the old scandals against Vinus; he gradually lost credit, because his age and Laco's character prevented his showing any activity now that would make them forgotten.

2 tanquam] Tacitus seems to hint

that they really deserved their fate, if Galba had been wise enough to prove it. Turpilianus had commanded in Britain in Nero's reign, *Ann.* xiv. 29. 4; we must suppose that he had been named to command the troops mentioned in § 5.

trucidatis . . . militum] So again, 37. 4. The *Classarii* mobbed him on his approach, being afraid of reduction to their former rank, and he ordered the cavalry to charge them; then, less excusably, had the survivors decimated.

5 numeri] 'Detachments' or bodies of troops of various arms; so *Agr.* 18. 3.

claustra Caspiarum] The pass also called Pylae Caspiae, leading south of the Caspian into the remoter east. It is noticeable that Nero's commanders had anticipated the conception of Heraclius, that Georgia not Armenia was the proper base for a Roman army operating against Persia.

ut . . . ita] Both clauses are to

7 favore, ita audenti parata. Forte congruerat ut Clodii Macri et Fonteii Capitonis caedes nuntiarentur. Macrum in Africa haud dubie turbantem Trebonius Garutianus procurator jussu Galbae, Capitonem in Germania, cum similia coeptaret, Cornelius Aquinus et Fabius Valens legati legionum inter- fecerant, antequam juberentur. Fuere qui crederent Capitonem 2 ut avaritia et libidine foedum ac maculosum, ita cogitatione rerum novarum abstinuisse; sed a legatis bellum suadentibus, postquam impellere nequiverint, crimen ac dolum ultro compositum; et Galbam mobilitate ingenii, an ne altius scrutaretur, quoquo modo acta, quia mutari non poterant, comprobasse. Ceterum utraque caedes sinistre accepta; et invisio 3 semel principe seu bene seu male facta premunt. Jam ad- 4 ferebant venalia cuncta praepotentes liberti; servorum manus

justify *ingens* . . . *materia*; they were the more dangerous because they were ready to take up the cause of *any* revolutionist, not only ready to act for a favourite of their own.

CH. VII. 1 **Forte**] 'Just at this conjuncture;' in *forte*, almost as much as *τυγχάνειν*, the prominent notion is *coincidence* rather than chance.

Fabius Valens] Of whom we hear repeatedly afterwards as the general of Vitellius. Of course his conduct there supports the view that he had suggested a similar course to Capito; but from the form of Tacitus's sentence we may perhaps infer that he does mean to treat Capito's treasonable *designs* as clear; though even in this sentence, *haud dubie* implies that he had not, like Macer, reached the stage of overt acts.

2 *ita*] At once a contrast and a corollary; he had vices as bad as treason, yet they were in themselves a security against treason. The sentence would have been more symmetrical if he had put an infinitive instead of the simple adjective

in the first clause, but would have expressed this meaning worse.

impellere] Almost 'to overcome his *inertia*;' one might compare the use in Virg. *Aen.* ii. 465, '*turrim . . . convellimus altis sedibus, impulimusque*,' and send it over.'

crimen ac dolum] A plot of assassination, and a criminal charge to cover it—*ac* in its most emphatic sense; the two were parts of one scheme, with common authors.

mobilitate . . . scrutaretur] Either he had not sufficient resolution to treat crime in general with consistent severity, or had prudential motives for not so treating *this* crime.

an differs from *aut* as being more of an after-thought; perhaps the authors of the theory took the other view, while Tacitus himself suggests the more creditable motive. Tacitus does not think very highly of Galba, but he was the senate's emperor, and a senatorian writer had to make the best of him.

invisio . . . principe] 'When an emperor has once become unpopular.' The use of the abl. abs.

subitis avidae et tanquam apud senem festinantes; eademque novae aulae mala aequae gravia, non aequae excusata. Ipsa 5 aetas Galbae inrisui ac fastidio erat. adsuetae juventae Neronis et imperatores forma ac decore corporis, ut est mos vulgi, 8 comparantibus. Et hic quidem Romae, tanquam in tanta multitudine, habitus animorum fuit. E provinciis Hispaniae 2 praeerat Cluvius Rufus, vir facundus et pacis artibus, bellis inexpertus. Galliae, super memoriam Vindicis, obligatae 3 recenti dono Romanae civitatis et in posterum tributi levamento. Proximae tamen Germanis exercitibus Galliarum civitates non 4 eodem honore habitae, quaedam etiam finibus ademptis, pari dolore commoda aliena ac suas injurias metiebantur. Germani 5 exercitus, quod periculosissimum in tantis viribus, solliciti et

instead of an accus. depending on *premunt* heightens the effect of the words coming before the verb, and marks the statement as general, not confined to the individual case.

4 *subitis*] Commonly taken as a dat. with *avidae*, 'greedy for.' But that construction is unique. Church and Brodribb try to give it a distinctive force, 'caught with greedy hands at immediate gain;' but perhaps it is simpler to make it an abl., 'their cupidity aroused by the sudden change.'

eademque . . . excusata] 'And the evils of the new court identical with those of the old, were equally felt as burdens, and found less ready excuse.' *Aequae gravia* is not a mere repetition of *eadem*. Whether in construction it is a predicate co-ordinate with *non aequae excusata*, or agrees directly with the subject, 'though equally felt,' the Latin form of predication dispensed Tacitus from deciding.

CH. VIII. 1 *tanquam . . . multitudine*] Best taken, with Church and Brodribb, 'as far as one can speak of so vast a multitude.' *Tan-*

quam in might naturally mean 'as was natural in,' but *hic* can hardly be got to mean 'so various,' which is the only sense that the mention of the multitude could account for.

2 *facundus et pacis artibus*] For the coupling of an adj. with an abl. of quality, cf. Virg. *Aen.* vi. 640-1, '*largior hos campos aether et lumine vestit Purpureo.*'

inexpertus] Rather 'untried in' than 'without experience of;' the latter would less naturally take the abl.

3 *recenti dono*] The *chiefs* had received full citizenship from Claudius in his censorship, A.D. 48, *Ann.* xi. 23. 1.

4 *pari . . . metiebantur*] The sense is pregnant: 'measured the wrong done to them by the good bestowed on others, so that they were as much distressed by the latter as by the former.'

5 *periculosissimum*] The extreme danger is, for so powerful a force to have their anger and their dread aroused; not the particular causes that had aroused theirs, though these may have made the danger still greater.

irati, superbia recentis victoriae, et metu tanquam alias partes
 fovissent. Tarde a Nerone desciverant; nec statim pro Galba 6
 Verginius. An imperare voluisset, dubium: delatum ei a 7
 milite imperium conveniebat. Fonteium Capitonem occisum
 etiam qui queri non poterant, tamen indignabantur. Dux 8
 deerat, abducto Verginio per simulationem amicitiae; quem
 non remitti atque etiam reum esse tanquam suum crimen
 9 accipiebant. Superior exercitus legatum Hordeonium Flaccum
 spernebat, senecta ac debilitate pedum invalidum, sine con-
 stantia, sine auctoritate, ne quieto quidem milite regimen:
 adeo furentes infirmitate retinentis ultro accendebantur.
 Inferioris Germaniae legiones diutius sine consulari fuere, 2
 donec missu Galbae A. Vitellius aderat, censoris Vitellii
 ac ter consulis filius: id satis videbatur. In Britannico 3

alias partes] 'Another,' 'a different side,' not 'the other,' 'the opposite,' which would have been *alteras*, and would not have suited the facts so well.

6 Verginius] Does Tacitus mean, by the emphatic position of the name, to hint that the soldiers took up the cause of Galba before their commander? It was believed that the collision with Vindex's army was accidental, or due to the soldiers being still attached to Nero, the generals having agreed between themselves to co-operate. Yet Verginius in his own epitaph seems to claim credit for the defeat of Vindex as one of his acts of loyalty, no less than the refusal to use the victory for selfish ends—

*'Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam,
 Imperium asseruit non sibi sed patriae.'*

8 reum esse] Tacitus does not mean that he was in serious danger of a criminal charge, only that he was treated as '*suspect*.'

accipiebant] Apparently in a

double sense, 'heard of' the fact, and 'took it' as a blame to themselves.

suum crimen] As though they themselves were included in the charge against him.

CH. IX. 1 regimen] For the concrete use, cf. Liv. iv. 31, where *regimen rerum . . . peteretur* = 'a commander be selected.'

adeo] Common enough, though only post-Augustan, after either *quoque* or *ne . . . quidem* in the sense of 'much less' or 'much more;' here it becomes almost synonymous with the *ultro* that follows. 'Unable to manage even peaceable troops, now, when their passions were roused, the weakness of the man whose duty it was to restrain them inflamed them all the more.'

2 id satis videbatur] Vitellius was a poor enough consular himself (he had been consul in A.D. 48, the year of his father's censorship, iii. 86. 1, *Ann.* xi. 23. 1), but his father's distinction made it seem that he would do.

exercitu nihil irarum: non sane aliae legiones per omnes
civilium bellorum motus innocentius egerunt, seu quia procul
et Oceano divisae, seu crebris expeditionibus doctae hostem
potius odisse. Quies et Illyrico, quanquam excitae a Nerone 4
legiones, dum in Italia cunctantur, Verginium legationibus
adissent. Sed longis spatiis discreti exercitus, quod salu- 5
berrimum est ad continendam militarem fidem, nec vitiis
IO nec viribus miscebantur. Oriens adhuc immotus. Suriam
et quattuor legiones obtinebat Licinius Mucianus, vir secundis
adversisque juxta famosus. Insignes amicitias juvenis ambitiose 2
coluerat; mox attritis opibus, lubrico statu, suspecta etiam
Claudii iracundia, in secretum Asiae repositus tam prope ab
exsule fuit quam postea a principe. Luxuria, industria, 3
comitate, adrogantia, malis bonisque artibus mixtus. Nimiae
voluptates, cum vacaret: quotiens expedierat, magnae virtutes.
Palam laudares: secreta male audiebant. Sed apud subjectos, 4
apud proximos, apud collegas variis illecebris potens: et cui

3 *doctae*] Probably a *real* participle, not a perfect indicative with the auxiliary suppressed. The verb to be supplied with *quia* is *egerunt*.

CH. X. 1. *famosus* seems to have about as pronounced a bad sense as 'notorious' in English. From what follows, it is plain Tacitus does not mean that he disgraced himself under all changes of circumstances, but that he distinguished himself (not exactly creditably) under all.

2 *ambitiose*] See note on i. 1. 3.

repositus] Apparently the retirement was ostensibly voluntary, yet *repono* is hardly one of the verbs whose passive has naturally a reflexive force. So perhaps the use of the passive implies he had received a hint that he had better retire; perhaps one might translate it, 'put on one side,' 'put out of the way.'

tam prope ab] 'As little removed

from;' the construction, common enough in the literal local sense, is less so in the transferred.

3 *quotiens expedierat*] 'Whenever there was occasion for them.' The Latin is ambiguous, just as the suggested English equivalent is; it may mean that Mucianus showed great qualities, either when it was for his interest, or when circumstances made it easy. *Expeditus* in § 4 perhaps supports the latter interpretation. It seems too harsh to give it the rare sense (found however at 88. 2), 'when he was on active service.'

4 *Palam laudares* cannot mean, 'You would praise his public conduct,' in spite of the antithesis. Rather, 'He was a man you would praise openly,' not only because he was too influential for his faults to be mentioned as openly as his good qualities, but because the faults,

expeditius fuerit tradere imperium quam obtinere. Bellum 5
 Judaicum Flavius Vespasianus (ducem eum Nero delegerat,) 6
 tribus legionibus administrabat. Nec Vespasiano adversus 6
 Galbam votum aut animus: quippe Titum filium ad venera-
 tionem cultumque ejus miserat, ut suo loco memorabimus.
 Occulta fati et ostentis ac responsis destinatum Vespasiano 7
 I I liberisque ejus imperium post fortunam credidimus. Ægyptum
 copiasque, quibus coërceretur, jam inde a divo Augusto equites
 Romani obtinent loco regum: ita visum expedire, provinciam
 aditu difficilem, annonae fecundam, superstitione ac lascivia
 discordem et mobilem, insciam legum, ignaram magistratum,
 domi retinere. Regebat tum Tiberius Alexander, ejusdem 2
 nationis. Africa ac legiones in ea, interfecto Clodio Macro,
 contenta qualicunque principe post experimentum domini
 minoris. Duæ Mauritaniae, Raetia, Noricum, Thracia et 3
 quae aliae procuratoribus cohibentur, ut cuique exercitui

though real, were too vague and too well concealed to be talked about definitely.

expeditius] Virtually the comp. of the quasi-adverb *in expedito*; *expeditus* is rarely used as a quality of the action 'ready to hand.'

6 votum aut animus] Definite wish to overthrow him in his own interest, or general ill-will that would be glad to see him overthrown.

suo loco, ii. 1. 2.

7 Occulta fati] See ii. 78.

CH. XI. 1 coërceretur] 'The forces to control it,' the tense being probably determined by the fact that it had not actually called for armed control. Or one might say that *jam inde . . . obtinent* is virtually equivalent to a perfect.

loco regum . . . domi retinere] It was under a *personal* and a *localized* government; *aditu difficilem, annonae fecundam*, account for the necessity of the latter, *superstitione . . . mobilem, insciam legum, ignaram magistratum*, of the for-

mer; *leges* and *magistratus* being the powers that hold, in western civilisation, the position for which Egypt needs a *de facto* king. *Domi* is understood by Or. and others, '*per procuratores Caesaris*;' but the sense 'on the spot' seems, as above explained, to suit the context best.

2 ejusdem nationis] *Natio* is almost always used in a contemptuous sense, of what does not deserve to be called a *gens* or *populus*. Alexander was a Jew by race, in fact a nephew of Philo, but had, Josephus tells us, abjured the Jewish religion. Tacitus must mean only that he was an Egyptian by birthplace.

legiones] There was only one, excepting the troops raised by Macer himself.

domini minoris] 'A despot on a lesser scale;' the emperor was less absolute, and his tyranny (if he was tyrannical) would be diffused over a wider space.

3 procuratoribus] These less

vicinae, ita in favorem aut odium contactu valentiorum agebantur. Inermes provinciae atque ipsa in primis Italia, 4 cuicunque servitio exposita, in pretium belli cessurae erant. Hic fuit rerum Romanarum status, cum Servius Galba iterum 5 Titus Vinus consules inchoavere annum sibi ultimum, rei publicae prope supremum.

- 12 Paucis post Kalendas Januarias diebus Pompeii Propinqui procuratoris e Belgica litterae adferuntur, superioris Germaniae legiones rupta sacramenti reverentia imperatorem alium flagitare, et senatui ac populo Romano arbitrium eligendi permittere, quo seditio mollius acciperetur. Maturavit ea res consilium 2 Galbae jam pridem de adoptione secum et cum proximis agitantis. Non sane crebrior tota civitate sermo per illos 3 menses fuerat, primum licentia ac libidine talia loquendi, dein fessa jam aetate Galbae. Paucis iudicium aut rei publicae 4 amor : multi stulta spe, prout quis amicus vel cliens, hunc vel illum ambitiosis rumoribus destinabant, etiam in Titi Vinii odium, qui in dies quanto potentior, eodem actu invidior erat.

important provinces were governed by *procuratores loco praesidis*, usually men of equestrian rank, and not to be confounded with the *procuratores fisci*, usually freedmen, at any rate a much lower magistracy.

4 in primis] With a certain irony. Italy was now no more than a province, and the most helpless of all.

in pretium . . . cessurae] So we have in *praemia cessuros*, 70. 4, 'would fall in as a part of the reward.' In *Ann.* xi. 35. 2, in *pretium probri cessisse* is, 'had come to be accounted a shame.'

5 ultimum . . . supremum] So far as there is any difference it will be that *ultimum* is simply 'the latest,' *supremum* 'the concluding, winding up.'

CH. XII. 1 superioris Germaniae] Explained by i. 50. 1 ; in fact, the

armies in both German provinces had revolted.

senatui ac populo Romano, i. 56. 3, 57. 3] It was a professed return to the policy of Verginius ; with the important difference that Galba had now been recognised by the Senate.

3 per illos menses] Since Nero's death and Galba's unopposed proclamation in the previous June. But he had been hardly a month in Rome.

fessa jam aetate G.] We have the same construction in *Ann.* i. 46. 3, else *fessus aetate* as an epithet of the person is commoner.

4 prout . . . cliens] 'According as each (of the talkers) was a friend or dependant (of this or that candidate).'

eodem actu] The same impulse pushed him into power and into

Quippe hiantes in magna fortuna amicorum cupiditates ipsa 5
Galbae facilitas intendebat, cum apud infirmum et credulum
13 minore metu et majore praemio peccaretur. Potentia princi-
patus divisa in Titum Vinium consulem et Cornelium Laconem
praetorii praefectum. Nec minor gratia Icelo Galbae liberto, 2
quem anulis donatum equestri nomine Marcianum vocitabant.
Hi discordes, et rebus minoribus sibi quisque tendentes, circa 3
consilium eligendi successoris in duas factiones scindebantur.
Vinius pro M. Othone: Laco atque Icelus consensu non tam 4
unum aliquem fovebant quam alium. Neque erat Galbae 5
ignota Othonis ac Titi Vinii amicitia; et rumoribus nihil
silentio transmittentium, (quia Vinio vidua filia, caelebs Otho,)
gener ac socer destinabantur. Credo et rei publicae curam 6
subisse, frustra a Nerone translatae, si apud Othonem relin-

unpopularity. The conjecture *auctu* is rightly rejected by Orelli.

5 *intendebat*] As we say, 'intensified;' perhaps gave an aim as well as an impetus, like *arcum intendere*.

CH. XIII. 1 *et*] Omitted by the MS., and the asyndeton though harsh is perhaps not impossible. We have regularly *Ser. Galba T. Vinium consules*, and the like; and Tacitus might conceive Vinius and Laco as in a sense colleagues, occupying the two places next to the Emperor. In the case of two offices *habitually* mentioned together (e.g. a dictator and *magister equitum*) the omission would be probable.

2 *equestri nomine*] His official name would naturally have been *Ser. Sulpicius Icelus*; but he would have continued to be called by the Greek name at the end, which would have reminded every one of his origin, and this was undesirable in the case of an *eques Romanus*. So no doubt he was called *Ser. Sulpicius Marcianus*—as though he had been born in one noble Roman

house, and adopted into another. There is no knowing what determined the choice of the name—perhaps Galba had inherited him from a *Marcus*.

3 *sibi quisque . . . duas*] About other things there were three parties, about this two; while the momentary co-operation of Laco and Icelus did not go beyond opposing Vinius.

5 *Neque . . . et*] Galba was on these accounts afraid that the choice of Otho would make Vinius too powerful.

vidua filia] The *Crispina* of i. 47. 4, mentioned also i. 72. 4.

caelebs] Without a wife at present: *viduus* is rarely used substantively, or in the distinctive sense of a widower. And besides, Tacitus regards his marriage with *Poppaea* as merely nominal.

6 *Credo et . . . subisse*] Besides the jealousy of Vinius already suggested, patriotic motives may have gone for *something* in Galba's own mind, but the *credo* hints, not for as much as Galba's reputation would promise.

queretur. Namque Otho pueritiam incuriose, adolescentiam 7
 petulanter egerat, gratus Neroni aemulatione luxus. Eoque 8
 jam Poppaeam Sabinam, principale scortum, ut apud conscium
 libidinum, deposuerat, donec Octaviam uxorem amoliretur.
 Mox suspectum in eadem Poppaea in provinciam Lusitaniam
 specie legationis seposuit. Otho comiter administrata pro- 10
 vincia primus in partes transgressus, nec segnis, et donec
 bellum fuit, inter praesentes splendidissimus, spem adoptionis
 statim conceptam acrius in dies rapiebat, faventibus plerisque
 14 militum, prona in eum aula Neronis ut similem. Sed Galba
 post nuntios Germanicae seditionis, quanquam nihil adhuc de
 Vitellio certum, anxius quonam exercituum vis erumperet, ne
 urbano quidem militi confisus, quod remedium unicum rebatur,
 comitia imperii transigit; adhibitoque super Vinium ac
 Laconem Mario Celso consule designato ac Ducenio Gemino
 praefecto urbis, pauca praefatus de sua senectute, Pisonem
 Licinianum accersi jubet, seu propria electione, sive (ut quidam

7 **incuriose** may be 'a neglected childhood,' as Church and Brodribb: but perhaps rather 'heedlessly,' without caring what he did or might be supposed to do.

8 **jam]** Exactly *i.g.* δῆ; 'and this was why.'

principale] 'The imperial,' though it would be just possible to take it 'reigning mistress.' But the sense is determined by *principalis matrimonii* in i. 22. 2.

deposuerat] In the *Annals* Tacitus tells the story differently, that Otho seduced and then married Poppaea, then that she became Nero's mistress with her husband's knowledge, and then was divorced by him that she might marry Nero.

9] The case provoked the epigram,
'Cur Otho mentito sit, quaeritis, exul honore?

Uxoris moechus coeperat esse suae.'

10 **comiter]** In a conciliatory spirit—to the *negotiatores* or the provincials?

in partes transgressus] Used especially of taking the side of *revolution*.

CH. XIV. 1 **Germanicae . . . de Vitellio]** Of course if the troops had only asserted the right of the Senate to determine the government, they could not have held out against their persistence in the existing one. The movement became more dangerous when they produced a candidate for empire of their own.

quod] The antecedent is the clause that follows.

comitia imperii] One may doubt whether Tacitus means that Galba honestly tried to carry on the monarchy in a republican spirit, or to point to the unreality of affecting to do so: *transigit* supports the latter view. 'He despatches the business of electing an emperor' by a hole-and-corner family arrangement, without consulting the people, or even the Senate.

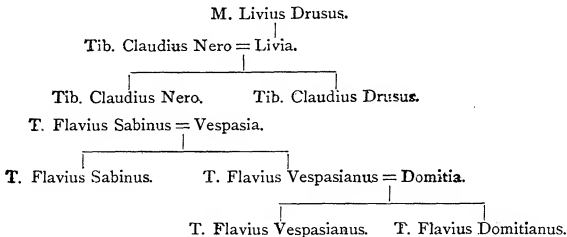
crediderunt,) Lacone instante, cui apud Rubellium Plautum exercita cum Pisone amicitia: sed callide ut ignotum fovebat, et prospera de Pisone fama consilio ejus fidem addiderat. Piso M. Crasso et Scribonia genitus, nobilis utrinque, voltu ²

accersi] M. has *accersiri*, which Ritter defends. It is likely that a copyist, and not likely that Tacitus, should have got entangled in the same false analogies as St. Augustine (*Ep.* iii. 5, '*cupi an cupiri, tu videris,*' etc.)

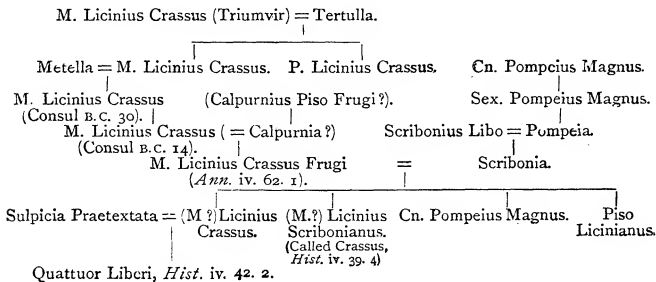
Rubellium Plautum] *Ann.* xiii. 19. 3, xiv. 22, 57 sqq., *Juv.* viii. 39 sqq.

2. **genitus]** The word is used because *filius* would have been ambiguous. From the form of his name we see he had been adopted once already. His adoptive father

is unknown, but was doubtless a relation; his own father had the Pisonian *agnomen* of Frugi. He perhaps got that name, and his sons those of Magnus and Scribonianus, not by adoption, but from the custom of distinguishing brothers by different *cognomina* selected from those of their ancestors. Four in a family (and that a noble one) were an unusual tax on name-fanciers; when a couple was satisfied with two the elder usually took the father's *cognomen* and the younger the mother's: e.g.



One may guess therefore that Crassus was the eldest, Scribonianus the next; Magnus must have been at any rate a good deal older than Piso, to have held his position in Claudius's reign. The pedigree was apparently:—



habituque moris antiqui, et aestimatione recta severus, deterius interpretantibus tristior habebatur. Ea pars morum ejus quo 3
 15 suspectior sollicitis, adoptanti placebat. Igitur Galba, adprehensa Pisonis manu, in hunc modum locutus fertur :—‘Si te privatus lege curiata apud pontifices, ut moris est, adoptarem, et mihi egregium erat Cn. Pompeii et M. Crassi subolem in penates meos adsciscere, et tibi insigne Sulpiciae ac Lutatiae decora nobilitati tuae adjecisse. Nunc me deorum homin- 2
 umque consensu ad imperium vocatum praeclara indoles tua et amor patriae impulit, ut principatum, de quo majores nostri armis certabant, bello adeptus quiescenti offeram, exemplo divi Augusti, qui sororis filium Marcellum, dein generum Agrippam, mox nepotes suos, postremo Tiberium Neronem privignum in proximo sibi fastigio collocavit. Sed Augustus 3
 in domo successorem quaesivit, ego in re publica, non quia propinquos aut socios belli non habeam : sed neque ipse imperium ambitione accepi, et judicii mei documentum sint non meae tantum necessitudines, quas tibi postposui, sed et

CH. XV. 1] Galba perhaps held himself dispensed from these formalities—as *Pontifex Maximus* from the presence of his colleagues, as chief of the state from the (long since merely formal) assent of the representatives of the born citizens ; though Augustus at the adoption of his grandsons had scrupulously observed all the antiquarian ceremonies. As Galba was of an old patrician house, the mention of a *lex curiata* in his case throws no light on the vexed question whether the *curiae* were to the last exclusively patrician bodies.

egregium erat] The past indicative of what is *not* the case, like *dignus eram* in the following chapter.

Lutatiae] Sc. *nobilitatis*. Galba’s mother was the daughter of a Lutatius Catulus, though herself

called Mummia Achaica after another distinguished ancestor.

2 *Nunc . . . vocatum*] The sentiment is, ‘If I were a private man I might well select you for my heir on family grounds : as it is, I am bound to do so on public.’

amor patriae does not go with *tua*, but means Galba’s own.

majores nostri] Galba’s great-grandfather had served under Caesar against Pompey—though he was said to be one of the conspirators against Caesar, and certainly fought in the senatorial army at Mutina.

3 *socios belli* alludes to Otho.

judicii . . . documentum] ‘A proof of my deliberate action.’ It could scarcely be said to prove that his judgment was sound, but it proved that it had been exercised.

tuæ. Est tibi frater pari nobilitate, natu major, dignus hac fortuna, nisi tu potior esses. Ea ætas tua, quæ cupiditates 4 adulescentiæ jam effugerit; ea vita, in qua nihil præteritum excusandum habeas. Fortunam adhuc tantum adversam 5 tulisti: secundæ res acrioribus stimulis animos explorant, quia miseriæ tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur. Fidem, 6 libertatem, amicitiam, præcipua humani animi bona, tu quidem eadem constantia retinebis, sed alii per obsequium imminuent. Inrumpet adulatio, blanditiæ, pessimum veri 7 affectus venenum, sua cuique utilitas. Et jam ego ac tu 8 simplicissime inter nos hodie loquimur: ceteri libentius cum fortuna nostra quam nobiscum. Nam suadere principi quod 9 oporteat, multi laboris: adsentatio erga quemcunque principem 16 sine affectu peragitur. Si immensum imperii corpus stare ac librari sine rectore posset, dignus eram a quo res publica inciperet: nunc eo necessitatis jam pridem ventum est, ut nec mea senectus conferre plus populo Romano possit quam bonum successorem, nec tua plus juvenia quam bonum principem. Sub Tiberio et Gaio et Claudio unius familiæ quasi hereditas 2 fuimus: loco libertatis erit quod eligi coepimus. Et finita 3

frater] Scribonianus, i. 47. 8. He was unambitious, and Tacitus evidently respects him, iv. 39. 4.

4 ætas tua] 31, *l.c.*

5 Fortunam . . . adversam] The death of his two brothers and his own exile.

7 pessimum . . . utilitas] It is scarcely possible to maintain in translation the form of the apposition without inverting its terms: 'personal self-interest, that worst of poisons to true affection.'

8 Et jam] Rightly written by most editors as two words: 'Henceforth, while you and I are to-day frank with each other, no one else will be frank with us; they will deal, not as with Galba or Piso, but as with an emperor—reigning or dethroned.'

CH. XVI. 1 res publica] 'The national government' here comes very near to 'the popular government' or 'republic'; see on i. 1. 2.

mea senectus] He means chiefly, that he will not hold power long, so that the choice of a successor will be his most important act; but perhaps Tacitus means him to express an uneasy sense that he was too old to be a thoroughly good emperor in his own person.

possit] A correction for *posset*. Tacitus would have put *potuerit* if he had meant to use the tense appropriate to the first clause only, *possit* is necessary if it is to suit both.

2 fuimus . . . coepimus] Galba speaks, first in the character of a citizen in the state that had accepted one master after another, then as a

Juliorum Claudiorumque domo optimum quemque adoptio
 inveniet. Nam generari et nasci a principibus fortuitum, nec 4
 ultra aestimatur: adoptandi iudicium integrum; et si velis
 eligere, consensu monstratur. Sit ante oculos Nero, quem 5
 longa Caesarum serie tumentem non Vindex cum inermi
 provincia aut ego cum una legione, sed sua immanitas, sua
 luxuria cervicibus publicis depulerunt; neque erat adhuc
 damnati principis exemplum. Nos bello et ab aestimantibus 6
 adsciti cum invidia, quamvis egregii, erimus. Ne tamen territus
 fueris, si duae legiones in hoc concussi orbis motu nondum quies-
 cunt. Ne ipse quidem ad securas res accessi; et audita adop- 7
 tione desinam videri senex, quod nunc mihi unum obicitur.
 Nero a pessimo quoque semper desiderabitur: mihi ac tibi 8
 providendum est ne etiam a bonis desideretur. Monere diutius 9

member of the imperial order. In the last there is a little of the pride that apes humility: 'We poor emperors are a necessary evil; but a less one, now that we are appointed by merit.' In the next section he includes Piso, as well as himself, in the commendation implied by the new system. Galba (or Tacitus) is as uncertain as the reader whether *loco libertatis erit* means 'it will count for liberty,' or 'it will do instead of liberty.'

eligi does not imply popular election (the word for which is *creare*), but only selection, on whose part soever. Hence in § 4 it is applied even to this case of adoption.

4 **integrum**] 'There is nothing to prejudice one's judgment in . . . ' Galba himself had long been a childless widower; he forgets the likelihood that Piso, if he had lived, would have left sons. And Claudius had been blamed for superseding his own son by the adoption of Nero,—though to be sure Tiberius had been blamed for *not* superseding his own son more completely in favour of Germanicus.

et si velis . . . monstratur] 'If you (not Piso, but impersonally) wish to choose your successor, public opinion will mark him out for you.'

5 **cervicibus**] It is not quite clear whether the image is that of shaking off a *yoke* or a *rider*. This word is more appropriate to the former; the personal object rather suggests the latter.

damnati principis] 'Of the judicial condemnation of an emperor.' The Senate formally voted that Nero should be punished *more majorum*, i.e. beaten to death,—the announcement of which prospect was needed to nerve him to suicide.

6 **bello**, like me; **ab aestimantibus**, like you. Nero, he means, was less exposed to envy, because he had not former equals to envy him. His was therefore an extreme case, in proof that power cannot be retained without merit.

7 **videri**] 'To be thought,' not 'to think one self.'

8] The first four years of Nero's reign were confessedly the happiest period the empire had yet seen, consequently, no one who remem-

neque temporis hujus, et impletum est omne consilium si te bene elegi. Utilissimus idem ac brevissimus bonarum malarumque rerum delectus est, cogitare quid aut volueris sub alio principe aut nolueris. Neque enim hic, ut gentibus quae regnantur, certa dominorum domus et ceteri servi: sed imperaturus es hominibus qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt nec totam libertatem.' Et Galba quidem haec ac talia, tanquam principem faceret, ceteri tanquam cum facto loquebantur. Pisonem ferunt statim intuentibus, et mox con-
 17 jectis in eum omnium oculis, nullum turbati aut exsultantis animi motum prodidisse. Sermo erga patrem imperatoremque reverens, de se moderatus; nihil in vultu habituque mutatum, quasi imperare posset magis quam vellet. Consultatum inde, pro Rostris an in senatu an in castris adoptio nuncuparetur. Iri in castra placuit: honorificum id militibus fore, quorum favorem ut largitione et ambitu male adquiri, ita per bonas artes haud spernendum. Circumsteterat interim Palatium publica exspectatio, magni secreti inpatiens; et male coërcitam
 18 famam supprimentes augebant. Quartum Idus Januarias,

bered them would find his memory unmixedly bad.

10 *delectus* seems here to be less the *act* than the *principle* of selection; the least dissimilar passage quoted is Cic. *Verr.* ii. 2. 50, 123, '*omnium rerum delectum ac discrimen pecunia sustulisset.*'

12] Galba treated Piso as not emperor yet, and therefore not beyond the reach of good advice, at least from himself, who was actual emperor. The rest lost no time in paying their court to Piso, treating him as emperor already, not only the emperor's heir.

CH. XVII. 1 *statim . . . oculis*] Neither to the four people (i. 14. 1) present at the adoption, nor to the army, on his public appearance to them.

3 *nuncuparetur*] The word used of any *formal, technical, or official* statement.

per bonas artes] One might supply *acquisitum* from *adquiri*, but it is better to repeat *adquiri*, and take *haud spernendum* as a predicate balancing *male*: 'the gaining of whose favour by bribery and corruption was ill done, but by honourable means was not a thing to be despised.'

4 *publica exspectatio*] One should translate the abstract expression as it stands, but of course *circumsteterat* applies more properly to the concrete 'expectant public' than to the public expectation.

male coërcitam . . . augebant] 'The report,' the true one, namely,

foedum imbribus diem, tonitrua et fulgura et caelestes minae ultra solitum turbaverant. Observatum id antiquitus comitiis 2 dirimendis non terruit Galbam quo minus in castra pergeret, contemptorem talium ut fortuitorum; seu quae fato manent, quamvis significata, non vitantur. Apud frequentem militum 3 contionem, imperatoria brevitate, adoptari a se Pisonem more divi Augusti et exemplo militari, quo vir virum legeret, pronuntiat. Ac ne dissimulata seditio in majus crederetur, ultro 4 adseverat quartam et duoetvicesimam legiones, paucis seditionis auctoribus, non ultra verba ac voces errasse, et brevi in officio fore. Nec ullum orationi aut lenocinium addit aut 5 pretium. Tribuni tamen centurionesque et proximi militum grata auditu respondent: per ceteros maestitia ac silentium, tanquam usurpatam etiam in pace donativi necessitatem bello

that Piso was chosen, 'which they had failed to repress, they,' the camarilla officially acquainted with it, 'spread all the more by trying to crush it.'

CH. XVIII. 1 **ultra solitum**] For of course *some* bad weather was to be looked for at that time of year. And in a Mediterranean climate, thunder in January would be no more surprising than rain; see Hdt. iv. 28. 3, 4.

2 **comitiis dirimendis**] Of course it was natural, assemblies being in the open air; the origin was not superstitious, only if the weather interrupted an assembly, it was natural to suppose that the gods *meant* it to be interrupted. Galba ought, Tacitus thinks, to have treated so important an adoption as official public business, transacted with the nation in its constitutional assembly. If he had made the announcement *pro rostris*, it perhaps would technically have been so; but the Praetorians cannot have formed a *comitia centuriata* as the old civic army did. And Galba thought that soldiers ought not to

mind the weather when their commander called them. For the concluding sentiment, cf. *Ann.* vi. 22; it may be a question whether the doubt is Galba's or Tacitus's own, *i.e.* whether *seu . . . vitantur* is an alternative to *ut fortuitorum* or to *contemptorem talium*; probably the latter.

imperatoria] Like a general giving orders to his soldiers, not a magistrate conducting an official nomination.

3 **quo vir virum legeret**] A technical phrase, of a man choosing a comrade for a special (usually a hazardous) service; Cic. *Mil.* xxi. 55, Liv. ix. 39, x. 38.

4 **duoetvicesimam**] Not *duodevicesimam*; the 18th legion was one of those destroyed with Varus, and it would have been held unlucky to call a newly raised one by the same name. This legion was the 22d *Primigenia*; there was also another 22d *Deiotarina*, now stationed (v. I. 3) at Alexandria.

5 **usurpatam . . . necessitatem**] Which precedent had established as a matter of course.

perdidissent. Constat potuisse conciliari animos quantula-
 cunque parci senis liberalitate : nocuit antiquus rigor et nimia
 19 severitas, cui jam pares non sumus. Inde apud senatum non
 comptior Galbae, non longior quam apud militem sermo :
 Pisonis comis oratio. Et patrum favor aderat : multi voluntate 2
 effusius ; qui noluerant, medie ; ac plurimi obvio obsequio,
 privatas spes agitantes sine publica cura. Nec aliud sequenti 3
 quatrduo (quod medium inter adoptionem et caedem fuit,)
 dictum a Pisone in publico factumve. Crebrioribus in dies 4
 Germanicae defectionis nuntiis, et facili civitate ad accipienda
 credendaque omnia nova, cum tristia sunt, censuerant patres
 mittendos ad Germanicum exercitum legatos. Agitatum se 5
 creto num et Piso proficisceretur, majore praetextu, illi auctori-
 tatem senatus, hic dignationem Caesaris laturus. Placebat et 6
 Laconem praetorii praefectum simul mitti : is consilio inter-
 cessit. Legati quoque (nam senatus electionem Galbae per-
 miserat,) foeda inconstantia nominati, excusati, substituti,
 ambitu remanendi aut eundi, ut quemque metus vel spes

CH. XIX. 1 **sermo**] He affected military bluntness ; it was a talk, not a speech.

Et . . . aderat] There were two reasons why the announcement was better received : Piso spoke as well as Galba, and was more courteous to his hearers, and their hearers had cause either to be or to seem more friendly.

2 **multi . . . obsequio**] So Or. punctuates, making those who had opposed Piso *more* eager in their congratulation than those who gave only the commonplaces of flattery, but *less* so than his sincere well-wishers. *Voluntate effusius* can hardly mean 'with more effusion than sincerity,' for this would spoil the antithesis to *qui noluerant*. Perhaps, indeed, this gains most force if we punctuate *multi voluntate : effusius qui noluerant* : but then we

should have to alter the reading of the next words—perhaps *medii* instead of *medie*, which does not elsewhere occur till Appuleius. Else the passage reads most like Tacitus as it stands.

3 **quatrduo**] The 11th to the 15th (i. 27. 1).

5 **majore praetextu**] 'To heighten its show of dignity : ' exactly = μετὰ μείζονος προσχήματος.

ili] Attracted into the care of *hic*, because, in a lax sense, it might be called in apposition with it ; the verb *proficisceretur* is readily supplied with the one pronoun, from that expressed with the other.

6 **consilio**] Prob. the dative, 'vetoed the proposal,' else we might make it, 'took too good care of himself to let the scheme pass.'

ambitu . . . inpulerat] 'Each

20 inpulerat. Proxima pecuniae cura; et cuncta scrutantibus justissimum visum est inde repeti ubi inopiae causa erat. Bis 2 et vicies milies sestertium donationibus Nero effuderat. Appellari singulos jussit, decuma parte liberalitatis apud quem- que eorum relicta. At illis vix decumae super portiones erant, isdem erga aliena sumptibus quibus sua prodegerant, cum rapacissimo cuique ac perditissimo non agri aut fenus, sed sola instrumenta vitiorum manerent. Exactioni triginta equites Romani praepositi, novum officii genus et ambitu ac numero onerosum. Ubique hasta et sector, et inquieta urbs actionibus. Ac tamen grande gaudium, quod tam pauperes forent quibus donasset Nero quam quibus abstulisset. Exauctorati per eos 5 dies tribuni, e praetorio Antonius Taurus et Antonius Naso,

intriguing for himself to stay or to go, according as hope or fear was the stronger influence on him personally.'

CH. XX. 1 **Proxima**] The most obvious sense to an English reader is, 'came next,' when the question of the meeting in Germany was settled. But it is doubtful whether the Latin word can mean this: rather 'the most anxious question next to this was . . .'

inde . . . ubi] Practically equivalent to *ab iis . . . apud quos*; but the measure is stated in an impersonal form, to mask its invidiousness. *Unde* is however used with a distinctive personal antecedent in Virg. *Aen.* i. 6, Hor. *Od.* i. 12. 16, and even *Sat.* i. 6. 12, where it = *a quo* in the sense 'by whom.'

2 **Bis et vicies milles]** An unquestionable correction for *bis et vicies mille*. Of course the cumbrous nomenclature of the Roman money of account makes textual corruptions still easier than they always are with numerals.

3 **super . . . erant]** For the thesis, cf. Virg. *Aen.* ii. 567.

aliena] Opposed to *sua* as 'what had been given them' to their

parimony, or perhaps more forcibly, 'what belonged to other men,' because Nero's bounty was fed by confiscations, as is said expressly in § 5.

fenus] 'Capital,' producing interest, or invested productively—a less common meaning than 'interest.' *Instrumenta vitiorum*. Costly show and luxurious houses.

4 **triginta]** Suetonius says fifty. **officii]** never exactly means 'office:' here it differs much as, according to Demosthenes or Ctesiphon, ἐπιμελεία τῆς καὶ διακονία does from ἀρχή. (Aesch. in *Ct.* § 13.)

ambitu] Best taken in the usual sense, either of the canvassing to secure the charge, in hopes that some of the money might stick to the collector's fingers, or perhaps rather, the canvassing to which they were exposed, on the part of the possessors of grants. Else it may be and sometimes is taken nearer the etymological sense, 'through the wide range of their jurisdiction,' or 'the extent of their circuit.'

actionibus] So M., and it makes better sense than the obvious guess, *auctionibus*, which adds nothing to *hasta et sector*.

ex urbanis cohortibus Aemilius Pacensis, e vigiliis Julius Fronto. Nec remedium in ceteros fuit, sed metus initium, 6 tamquam per artem et formidinem singuli pellerentur omnibus suspectis.

- 21 Interea Othonem, cui compositis rebus nulla spes, omne in turbido consilium, multa simul exstimulabant, luxuria etiam principi onerosa, inopia vix privato toleranda, in Galbam ira, in Pisonem invidia. Fingebat et metum, quo magis concupi- 2 sceret. Praegravem se Neroni fuisse, nec Lusitaniam rursus et alterius exsilii honorem expectandum. Suspectum semper 3 invisumque dominantibus qui proximus destinaretur. Nocuisse id sibi apud senem principem; magis nociturum apud juvenem ingenio trucem et longo exsilio efferatum. Occidi Othonem posse. Proinde agendum audendumque, dum Galbae auctori- 4 tas fluxa, Pisonis nondum coaluisset. Opportunos magnis 5

5] One may notice that the soldiers bear the names of noble houses, not that they belonged to them, but that their ancestors a generation or two back, possibly in some cases themselves, had received citizenship, perhaps liberty, from those who did. Antonii are almost as common as Cornelii, Julii, or Claudii.

6 remedium in] 'Did not operate as a remedy on.'

per artem et formidinem] A process of cajolery with an object of intimidation.

CH. XXI. 1 in turbido] The expression is varied from that of *compositis rebus*, merely for the sake of variety.

2 Fingebat] 'He feigned' to himself as well as others, but the *oratio obliqua* that follows is not to be taken as a soliloquy.

exsilii honorem] Not merely 'honourable exile,' *i.e.* disguised under the name of honourable office; but hints that to be banished was itself a compliment.

3 destinaretur] Used constantly of popular report, as above, 13. 5.

4 Othonem] Apparently the force of using the *pr. n.* is to point an antithesis with the two names that follow. There were three men in the field: of these, to murder *Otho* was so easy, that, if action against *Galba* was possible, action against *Piso* must be prompt.

agendum] It was a state of things where *age*, *aude* was the right advice to give.

auctoritas] Almost 'the magic of his name.' Of course *Galba's imperium* remained unimpaired, and it does not appear that *Piso* had received it.

dum . . . coaluisset] *Dum* is often used with a simple *adj.* as predicate, where the copula (if supplied) would be in the usual tense, the *pres. indic.* Hence *Tacitus* was not conscious of the want of a verb in the first clause; when he came to put one in the second, he put it in the tense it should be, if *cum* not *dum* had preceded.

conatibus transitus rerum; nec cunctatione opus, ubi perniciosior sit quies quam temeritas. Mortem omnibus ex natura 6
aequalem, oblivione apud posteros vel gloria distingui. Ac si
nocentem innocentemque idem exitus maneat, acrioris viri
22 esse merito perire. Non erat Othonis mollis et corpori similis
animus. Et intimi libertorum servorumque, corruptius quam
in privata domo habiti, aulam Neronis et luxus, adulteria,
matrimonia ceterasque regnorum libidines avido talium, si
auderet, ut sua ostentantes, quiescenti ut aliena exprobrabant,
urgentibus etiam mathematicis, dum novos motus et clarum
Othoni annum observatione siderum adfirmant, genus hominum
potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra
et vetabitur semper et retinebitur. Multos secreta Poppaeae 2
mathematicos, pessimum principalis matrimonii instrumentum,
habuerant; e quibus Ptolemaeus Othoni in Hispania comes,
cum superfuturum eum Neroni promisisset, postquam ex eventu
fides, conjectura jam et rumore senium Galbae et juventam
Othonis computantium persuaserat fore ut in imperium ad-

5 transitus rerum] The last sentence explains what he means: power was passing from Galba, and had not yet passed to Piso.

6 viri] The application of the word to Otho is a paradox: the next sentence shows it is not altogether an irony.

CH. XXII. 1 **adulteria, matrimonia]** With unlimited facilities of divorce, the latter differed from the former only in duration. So Cicero reckons Clodius's wife among his usual discreditable companions, *Mil.* x. 28.

regnorum] If these were the attractions of empire, the empire that was characterized by them would be no better than an Asiatic despotism.

sua] Of course, 'his own,' contrary to strict grammatical rule. In fact, '*si auderet sua, si quiesceret aliena,*' describes the picture formed

from their representations in Otho's mind.

vetabitur] As in *Ann.* ii. 32. 5, xii. 52. 3.

2 pessimum . . . instrumentum] Orelli and Church and Brodribb adopt Burnouf's translation, '*détestable ameublement d'un ménage impérial.*' Surely one might more naturally take it, 'the worst element in her preparation for securing her imperial marriage.' If it had been after her marriage with Nero that she maintained them, how could one at least have shared Otho's banishment?

Ptolemaeus] Suetonius calls him Seleucus, probably confounding him with Vespasian's astrologer of that name, ii. 78. 2.

ut . . . adscisceretur] That he would be peaceably adopted as his colleague and successor. Tacitus half believes that there is something in

scisceretur. Sed Otho tanquam peritia et monitu factorum 3
 praedicta accipiebat, cupidine ingenii humani libentius obscura
 23 credendi. Nec deerat Ptolemaeus, jam et sceleris instinator,
 ad quod facillime ab ejusmodi voto transitur. Sed sceleris
 cogitatio incertum an repens: studia militum jam pridem spe
 successionis aut paratu facinoris adfectaverat, in itinere, in
 agmine, in stationibus vetustissimum quemque militum nomine
 vocans, ac memoria Neroniani comitatus contubernales appel-
 lando; alios agnoscere, quosdam requirere, et pecunia aut
 gratia juvare, inserendo saepius querelas et ambiguos de
 Galba, sermones, quaeque alia turbamenta volgi. Labores 2
 itinerum, inopia commeatum, duritia imperii atrocius accipie-
 bantur, cum Campaniae lacus et Achaiae urbes classibus adire
 soliti Pyrenaeum et Alpes et immensa viarum spatia aegre sub
 24 armis eniterentur. Flagrantibus jam militum animis velut
 faces addiderat Maevius Pudens, e proximis Tigellini. Is 2
 mobilissimum quemque ingenio aut pecuniae indigum et in
 novas cupiditates praecipitem adliciendo, eo paulatim pro-

astrology, but in this case he is convinced that the prediction came false, except so far as it brought its own fulfilment.

3] 'But Otho took his predictions as coming from his science, and from the Fates' warning.' It would be hard to make *factorum* an objective genitive with *peritia* as well as a subjective with *monitu*.

CH. XXIII. 1 *jam et sceleris*] Having before held out hopes of legitimate ambition.

incertum an] 'It is a question whether after all,' *i.e.* it probably was not; the Ciceronian *nescio an* means just the reverse.

in itinere, in agmine, in stationibus] The rhythm proves that the three clauses must be co-ordinate, though it is so hard to see the distinction between the first two, that some have tried to make the second

and third subdivisions of the first. If a distinction is to be traced, the likeliest suggested is, that *itinere* is more general, 'on the way from Spain,' while *agmine* specifies 'on the way from Spain with Galba's army,' from which Otho and a few soldiers might now and then be detached.

contubernales] 'Messmates,'—a less austere tone than the *commilitones* which Galba, Piso, and even Otho himself adopt in formal speeches.

2] Nero's favourite troops (the Praetorians) had been taken by sea to Greece or Campania; Galba's favourite troops (his old legion) had served in Spain, and when recalled to Rome had had to march round by land. 'You see,' says Otho, to both Praetorians and Legionaries, 'whether Galba's favour or Nero's was better worth having.'

gressus est ut per speciem convivii, quotiens Galba apud Othonem epularetur, cohorti excubias agenti viritim centenos nummos divideret; quam velut publicam largitionem Otho secretioribus apud singulos praemiis intendebat, adeo animosus corruptor ut Cocceio Proculo speculatori, de parte finium cum vicino ambigenti, universum vicini agrum sua pecunia emptum dono dederit, per socordiam praefecti, quem nota
 25 pariter et occulta fallebant. Sed tum e libertis Onomastum futuro sceleri praefecit, a quo Barbium Proculum tesserarium speculatorum et Veturium optionem eorundem perductos, postquam vario sermone callidos audacesque cognovit, pretio et promissis onerat, datā pecunia ad pertentandos plurium animos. Suscepere duo manipulares imperium populi Romani 2 transferendum, et transtulerunt. In conscientiam facinoris pauci adsciti. Suspensos ceterorum animos diversis artibus 3 stimulant, primores militum per beneficia Nymphidii ut suspectos, vulgus et ceteros ira et desperatione dilati toties donativi. Erant quos memoria Neronis ac desiderium prioris 4 licentiae accenderet. In commune omnes metu mutandae 5
 26 militiae terrebantur. Infecit ea tabes legionum quoque et

CH. XXIV. 2 **Speculatori**] These were a picked body of the Praetorians armed in the Greek manner; whence Greek historians rather happily call them *δορυφόροι*.

praefecti] Laco, the *ignavissimus mortalium* of 6. i.

futuro] Always in Virgil of the *immediate* and *certain* future, and so apparently here, 'the crime resolved upon.'

CH. XXV. 1 **a quo** goes with *perductos*. Onomastus selects the men and brings them to Otho, who thenceforth settles with them in person.

2 **manipulares**] The 'rank and file' include these petty officers, who held their places only at the centurion's discretion.

et transtulerunt] Notice that we should say, 'and they did it,' while in Latin you repeat the verb.

pauci] Perhaps only three; if Suetonius's account of *five* soldiers being employed is to be reconciled with Tacitus.'

3 **dilati**] It does not seem clear whether it had been definitely promised and not given; in i. 18. 5 we are told that the withholding it was rather quixotical than dishonest; and perhaps i. 37. 10 refers rather to i. 30. 8 than to earlier promises. So perhaps this word only means 'so long delayed, so many opportunities for it having been missed.'

5 **mutandae militiae**] Of being drafted into the legions.

auxiliorum motas jam mentes, postquam volgatum erat labare Germanici exercitus fidem. Adeoque parata apud malos 2 seditio, etiam apud integros dissimulatio fuit, ut postero Iduum [dierum] redeuntem a cena Othonem rapturi fuerint, ni incerta noctis et tota urbe sparsa militum castra nec facilem inter temulentos consensum timuissent, non rei publicae cura, quam foedare principis sui sanguine sobrii parabant, sed ne per tenebras, ut quisque Pannonici vel Germanici exercitus militibus oblatus esset, ignorantibus plerisque, pro Othone destinaretur. Multa erumpentis seditionis indicia per conscios oppressa: quaedam apud Galbae aures praefectus Laco elusit, ignarus militarium animorum, consiliique quamvis egregii, quod non ipse afferret, inimicus, et adversus peritos pervicax.

27 Octavo decimo Kalendas Februarias sacrificanti pro aede Apollinis Galbae haruspex Umbricius tristia exta et instantes insidias ac domesticum hostem praedicit, audiente Othone (nam proximus adstiterat), idque ut laetum e contrario et suis

CH. XXVI. **dissimulatio**] They knew of their comrades' treason, and combined to disguise it.

postero Iduum dierum] So M.; the copies have *postero Iduum die*. There can be no doubt that the words are corrupt, but the simple omission of *dierum* hardly mends matters. The sense is clear, and the only correct Latin expression of it is *postridie Idus*; and though it is rash to limit too narrowly Tacitus's freedom to use a construction that is not regular Latin, he never departs from the Latin spirit, and it may be said that to use the genitive here would.

rapturi fuerint] Stronger than *rapiissent*; not merely 'they would have done it,' but 'they were actually at the point of doing it.'

ut quisque probably implies that they were afraid, not merely that *any* one who presented himself should be taken for Otho, but that

each detachment coming from the *sparsa castra* would get hold of a false Otho of its own.

Germanici] i. 31. 8, which shows that the sense is, not that they were afraid of making a mistake, but that the managers of the conspiracy were afraid they would.

indicia] Designed 'informations,' not merely 'symptoms, indications;' but *oppressa* is so strong a word, that it rather points to men who would have told Galba being restrained by threats or force, than to the mere silencing of premature expression of ill-will.

elusa] 'Caused to miss him,' properly a metaphor of warding off blows in boxing.

CH. XXVII. 1 **Octavo . . . sacrificanti**] It was the day of the Carmentalia, Ov. *Fast.* i. 617 sqq.

domesticum] The way that such vague indications were found, of the quarter in which evil impended; is

cogitationibus prosperum interpretante. Nec multo post ² libertus Onomastus nuntiat expectari eum ab architecto et redemptoribus; quae significatio coeuntium jam militum et paratae conjurationis convenerat. Otho, causam digressus ³ requirentibus, cum emi sibi praedia vetustate suspecta eoque prius exploranda finxisset, innixus liberto per Tiberianam domum in Velabrum, inde ad miliarium aureum sub aedem Saturni pergit. Ibi tres et viginti speculatores consalutatum ⁴ imperatorem, ac paucitate salutantium trepidum, et sellae festinanter impositum strictis mucronibus rapiunt. Totidem ⁵ ferme milites in itinere adgregantur, alii conscientia, plerique miraculo, pars clamore et gaudiis, pars silentio, animum ex ²⁸ eventu sumpturi. Stationem in castris agebat Julius Martialis tribunus. Is magnitudine subiti sceleris, an corrupta latius castra, et, si contra tenderet, exitium metuens, praebuit plerisque suspicionem conscientiae. Anteposuerunt ceteri quoque ² tribuni centurionesque praesentia dubiis et honestis. Isque ³ habitus animorum fuit ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.

seen in Liv. viii. 9. 1; something being wrong with the *head* of the liver indicated the death of the *general*.

² *coeuntium . . . paratae*] The soldiers, of whom few were in the conspiracy, were *on their way* to unite, the actual conspirators were *already* ready to make them act when united.

³ *emi*] 'That he was in treaty for the purchase,' *prius*, 'before concluding the bargain.' So Suetonius, '*quasi venalem domum inspecturus*.'

suspecta] *Probably* neut. pl.

in Velabrum] This was out of his way to the Praetorian camp; he did not venture to go in that direction from Galba's presence.

⁵ *clamore et gaudiis*] So most edd. for *gladiis*, the reading of M.,

while some say, not untruly, that the singular *gaudio* would be more appropriate. Harsh as is the zeugma, the ms. reading might fairly mean 'with shouts and clash of arms.' If this be right, we might compare *Germ.* II. 6, and see an indication that Roman soldiers were already either of barbarian origin or barbarized by neighbourhood. The *strictis mucronibus* of the preceding sentence does not prove so much.

CH. XXVIII. 1 *magnitudine . . . an . . . metuens*] 'From the greatness . . . or from fear that . . . ' Both the abl. and the partic. suggest alternative *motives* for his conduct.

praesentia] What it was obvious and easy to do.

29 Ignarus interim Galba et sacris intentus fatigabat alieni jam imperii deos, cum adfertur rumor rapi in castra incertum quem senatorem, mox, Othonem esse qui raperetur; simul ex tota urbe, ut quisque obvius fuerat, alii formidine augentes, quidam minora vero, ne tum quidem obliti adulationis. Igitur consult-² antibus placuit pertentari animum cohortis quae in Palatio stationem agebat, nec per ipsum Galbam, cujus integra auctoritas majoribus remediis servabatur. Piso pro gradibus domus³ vocatos in hunc modum adlocutus est:—"Sextus dies agitur, commilitones, ex quo ignarus futuri, et sive optandum hoc nomen sive timendum erat, Caesar adscitus sum. Quo domus⁴ nostrae aut rei publicae fato, in vestra manu positum est, non quia meo nomine tristiores casum paveam, ut qui adversas res expertus cum maxime discam ne secundas quidem minus

CH. XXIX. 1 **fatigabat**] He went on sacrificing, in hopes of better omens, which they persistently refused.

alieni jam imperii deos] He was supplicating the national gods as chief of the nation—which he no longer was.

incertum quem] 'Some senator unknown,' Church and Brodrick. They said, '*rapitur nescio qui senator*,' and again, '*Otho est qui rapitur*:'—*raperetur* is subj., to mark that it is a paraphrase of the report actually made.

2 majoribus] To meet greater emergencies.

3 pro gradibus] Like *pro rostris*: it seems to go rather with *adlocutus est* than with *vocatos*; the words describe at once the orator's position and that of his audience, by the direction in which he addresses them.

sive . . . sive . . . erat must all form one clause, co-ordinate with *ignarus futuri*, for it is not an admissible construction if it had been meant to depend on *ignarus*.

Caesar] If Caesar had really been Galba's surname, of course Piso

would have become a Caesar by the adoption; as Tiberius had when adopted by Augustus, and Germanicus by Tiberius. Now, though Caesar was practically become a title, it remained a title of the imperial house rather than of the individual emperor, but, perhaps from the precedent of the scanty families of the early emperors, no one but the emperor and his (natural or adopted) heir was called by it. Hence as early as this time we see the beginning of the Diocletian system, whereby Caesar became definitely the title of the emperor's heir, and so opposed to Augustus, the actual emperor. Hadrian is said to have been the first, on his adoption of Commodus, to have conferred the title of Caesar without any other.

4 fato] M. has *fatū*, probably intended for *fatū*, i.e. *fatum*. But to give a meaning to this one would have to give *quo* the scarcely possible sense of *quare*, and the sentence as it stands is more in Tacitus's manner.

expertus . . . discam] '*Having*

discriminis habere : patris et senatus et ipsius imperii vicem doleo, si nobis aut perire hodie necesse est aut, quod aequè apud bonos miserum est, occidere. Solatium proximi motus habebamus incruentam urbem et res sine discordia translatas.

Provisum adoptione videbatur, ut ne post Galbam quidem
 30 bello locus esset. Nihil adrogabo mihi nobilitatis aut modestiae. Neque enim relatu virtutum in comparatione Othonis opus est. Vitia, quibus solis gloriatur, evertere imperium, etiam 2 cum amicum imperatoris ageret. Habitune et incessu, an illo muliebri ornatu mereretur imperium? falluntur quibus luxuria specie liberalitatis imponit. Perdere iste sciet, donare nesciet. Stùpra nunc et comissiones et feminarum coetus volvit animo : haec principatus praemia putat, quorum libido ac voluptas penes ipsum sit, rubor ac dedecus penes omnes. Nemo enim unquam imperium flagitio quaesitum bonis artibus exercuit. Galbam consensus generis humani, me Galba 5 consentientibus vobis Caesarem dixit. Si res publica et senatus et populus vacua nomina sunt, vestra, commilitones,

had long enough trial of adversity, I am only beginning to try what prosperity is like, and find it at the first taste no less trying.'

5 **proximi motus]** The overthrow of Nero, and the civil war in Gaul.

CH. XXX. 2] Piso states the case against Otho rather unfairly : Otho had only contributed to overthrow Nero by helping Galba. But it might plausibly be said that Nero's overthrow came from the vices of a court of which Otho was a specimen.

amicum imperatoris ageret] Just like *filium principis agebat*, iv. 2. 1. **specie]** M. has *speciè*, i.e. *speciem*. One may suppose that the copyist was not familiar with the construction of *impono* 'to impose upon,' without any direct object expressed, but if any object *were* expressed,

speciem would be a likely one ; one might translate *speciem imponere* 'to palm off a show upon.'

3 **haec pr. praemia putat]** So supr. 22. 1. Tacitus's speeches are probably not altogether imaginary ; at least we may probably suppose that he means us to believe that Piso made a speech at this juncture. But *the* speech he gives is the composition of one who sees the situation in the light not only of Tacitus's own remarks, but of later events. The next sentence is not the less pointed because Otho seemed likely *not* to verify it.

4, 5] The connexion is, 'A government originated by the bad acts of bad men will have bad objects and bad results. The present government began by the act of the nation, and is consolidated with the approval of loyal

interest ne imperatorem pessimi faciant. Legionum seditio 6
adversus duces suos audita est aliquando : vestra fides fama-
que inlaesa ad hunc diem mansit. Et Nero quoque vos destituit, 7
non vos Neronem. Minus triginta transfugae et desertores,
quos centurionem aut tribunum sibi eligentes nemo ferret,
imperium adsignabunt? admittitis exemplum? et quiescendo
commune crimen facitis? transcendet haec licentia in pro-
vincias; et ad nos scelerum exitus, bellorum ad vos pertine-
bunt. Nec est plus quod pro caede principis quam quod 8
innocentibus datur, sed perinde a nobis donativum ob fidem
31 quam ab aliis pro facinore accipietis." Dilapsis speculatoribus,
cetera cohors non aspernata contionantem, ut turbidis rebus
evenit, forte magis et nullo adhuc consilio parat signa quam,
quod postea creditum est, insidiis et simulatione. Missus et 2
Celsus Marius ad electos Illyrici exercitus, Vipsania in porticu

soldiers; if you think nothing of the nation, yet consider the interest of your class.'

6 **Legionum]** But never of Praetorians.

7 **Et Nero quoque]** Not even when you had the best excuse soldiers ever had for mutiny, in your commander being a Nero.

Minus triginta] Again Piso has read Tacitus, and knows there were exactly twenty-three.

transfugae] Desert for malice, *desertores* for sloth or cowardice, and so the latter, if the less criminal, are the more contemptible.

centurionem . . . nemo ferret] In the old constitutional army, the tribunes of each legion were elected by the *Comitia*.

transcendet . . . in provincias] Orelli wonders that Piso forgot that Galba (not to mention Vitellius) had used this *licentia* already. Probably he is thinking, not of the past but of the future; and so prophesies, 'We shall have to die, and you to wage a civil war.'

8 **ob fidem . . . pro facinore]** Still affecting not to bribe them. The emperor would give *in view* of their good conduct as much as the usurper could *in payment* for treason.

CH. XXXI. 1 **Dilapsis speculatoribus]** They had been specially courted by Otho, *supr.* 24-5. Cocceius, as well as Barbius and Veturius, would have spread goodwill to Otho among his comrades; so that all slip away to him when they hear that his cause is proclaimed.

nullo] M. has *nonnullo*, which could hardly mean 'with some real purpose of action,' the key-word being omitted. Else the mere omission of the negative is such a dangerous correction, that one is tempted to think Tacitus wrote *non uno*,—some meant to fight for Piso, some perhaps to betray him, most (no doubt, as the text would say of all) to see what would happen and act accordingly. *Quam* seems a necessary insertion anyhow.

2 **electos]** The *numeri* of 6. 5.

tendentes. Praeceptum Amulio Sereno et Domitio Sabino 3
 primipilaribus ut Germanicos milites e Libertatis atrio accerse-
 rent. Legioni classicae diffidebat, infestae ob caedem com- 4
 militonum, quos primo statim introitu trucidaverat Galba.
 Pergunt etiam in castra praetorianorum tribuni, Cetrius Severus, 5
 Subrius Dexter, Pompeius Longinus, si incipiens adhuc et
 necdum adulta seditio melioribus consiliis flecteretur. Tribu- 6
 norum Subrium et Cetrium adorti milites minis, Longinum
 manibus coërcent examantque, quia non ordine militiae, sed
 e Galbae amicis, fidus principi suo et desciscentibus suspectior
 erat. Legio classica nihil cunctata praetorianis adjungitur. 7
 Illyrici exercitus electi Celsum ingestis pilis proturbant.
 Germanica vexilla diu nutavere, invalidis adhuc corporibus et 8
 placatis animis, quod eos a Nerone Alexandriam praemissos
 atque inde rursus longa navigatione aegros impensiore cura

The word is used there also, but it seems to mean merely 'a selected force,' not in any technical sense 'a *corps d'élite*.'

3 **Amulio**] No doubt a gentile name, the resemblance to the mythical one being perhaps accidental; M. writes it with a double *l*. Yet mythical *praenomina* (like Julius Antonius) were not unknown.

Germanicos] Of course not 'German soldiers,' but 'of the army of Germany.' From the national name *Germani* is derived the geographical name *Germania*, and from this the adjective *Germanicus*; and the first and last are never confounded, nor is analogy often transgressed in the formation of such words.

4] Supr. 6. 3.

5 **praetorianorum** in sense goes with both *castra* and *tribuni*, in construction (according to the usual Latin order of words) probably with the latter. Probably the *legio classica*, like the German and Illy-

rian troops, was not in a regular camp.

necdum *i.q.* *nondum* is silver-age; in older Latin *et* would not be wanted.

6 **quia non . . . erat**] 'Because, not on account of his military rank, but of his belonging to the number of Galba's friends, he was . . .'
 Orelli seems to take *ordine militiae* and *e Galbae amicis* not as explanations of his conduct, but of that of the soldiers; it seems clearer to make the ablative clauses account for his conduct, and *quia* for theirs. The sense is, that the officers had no higher sense of allegiance than the men,—it was a matter of course that they should protest against a mutiny, but they would submit, after a decent protest, to the show of force: real force was only needed to overcome private friendship. But in 36. 2 we are told that the officers *did* generally adhere to Galba, or at least are suspected of it.

7 **ingestis**] 'Hurled upon him' would give the impression that he

- 32 Galba refovebat. Universa jam plebs Palatium inplebat, mixtis servitiis, et dissono clamore caedem Othonis et conjuratorum exitium poscentium, ut si in circo ac theatro ludicrum aliquod postularent: neque illis judicium aut veritas, quippe eodem die diversa pari certamine postulaturis, sed tradito more quemcunque principem adulandi licentia adclamationum et studiis inanibus. Interim Galbam duae sententiae distinebant. Titus Vinus manendum intra domum, opponenda servitia, 2 firmandos aditus, non eundem ad iratos censebat. Daret 3 malorum paenitentiae, daret bonorum consensui spatium. Scelera impetu, bona consilia mora valescere. Denique eundi 4 ultro, si ratio sit, eandem mox facultatem; regressus, si
- 33 paeniteat, in aliena potestate. Festinandum ceteris videbatur, antequam cresceret invalida adhuc conjuratio paucorum. Trepidaturum etiam Othonem, qui furtim digressus, ad ignaros 2 inlatus, cunctatione nunc et segnitia terentium tempus imitari principem discat. Non exspectandum, ut compositis castris 3 forum invadat et prospectante Galba Capitolium adeat, dum egregius imperator cum fortibus amicis janua ac limine tenus

was at least wounded; which, however, we do not hear of at 39. 1.

CH. XXXII. 1 **neque illis**] 'Nor had *that* crowd,' any more than the crowd of spectators at the games. Or one might say that the emphatic pronoun is used, as often in Virgil, not to point a contrast with some other noun or pronoun, but to mark an antithesis in the body of the sentence: 'nor, *on the other hand*, had they . . .'

licentia adclamationum] Shouting was good fun, but was generally forbidden as disorderly; now they were allowed to shout in honour of the government, and used the opportunity.

si ratio sit . . . si paeniteat] The pres. subj. is the tense he actually used, and is retained in the *orat. obl.* to bring out the reason

why he used it, viz., to leave the question still open.

regressus] Probably a gen. sing., *facultatem* being readily supplied. Ritter takes it as an acc. pl., but admits that *regressum* would be more natural.

CH. XXXIII. 2 **imitari principem**] 'To look like an emperor,' not to imitate *the* emperor.

discat] The tense but not the mood of *oratio recta* is retained; so in Greek we might have the present optative. So *invadat, adeat*.

3 **egregius imperator**] 'A distinguished general.' It would scarcely be flattery, and certainly not irony, to call Galba so. The meaning is, 'he and his friends *are* good soldiers: let them behave as such.'

janua ac limine tenus] He draws

domum cludit. Obsidionem nimirum toleraturos : et prae-
 clarum in servis auxilium, si consensus tantae multitudinis, et,
 quae plurimum valet, prima indignatio elanguescat. Proinde
 intuta quae indecora. Vel si cadere necesse sit, occurrendum 5
 discrimini : id Othoni invidiosius et ipsis honestum. Repug- 6
 nantem huic sententiae Vinium Laco minaciter invasit, stimu-
 34 lante Icelo privati odii pertinacia in publicum exitium. Nec
 diutius Galba cunctatus speciosiora suadentibus accessit.
 Praemissus tamen in castra Piso ut juvenis magno nomine, 2
 recenti favore, et infensus Tito Vinio, seu quia erat, seu quia
 irati ita volebant ; et facilius de odio creditur. Vixdum
 egresso Pisone occisum in castris Othonem vagus primum, et
 incertus rumor : mox, ut in magnis mendaciis, interfuisse se

his defensive lines within these limits, and so lets the enemy come up to them.

4] If they stayed they would have to submit to a blockade for which they had no provisions, and have only slaves for a garrison, whereas now they had the crowd, who were assumed by courtesy to be citizens.

Vel illustrates well the transition from the sense 'or' to that of 'even.'

6 *invasit*] Probably not only 'assailed him *with* threats,' but walked up to him with threatening gestures.

stimulante . . . exitium] In all likelihood the construction is 'Icelus, from his obstinacy in private hatred, urging him on to the public ruin.' But it would be quite possible to take in *publicum exitium* with *pertinacia*, 'from private hatred, obstinate till it brought public ruin,' as apparently C. and B., and just possible also to make *Icelo* a dative, 'Laco attacked him, because Icelus's obstinacy in private hatred urged him (Icelus),' etc.

CH. XXXIV. 1 *Nec diutius G. cunctatus*] He always yielded to

the pressure of *either* Vinium or Laco, and now Vinium was forcibly silenced. Besides, an appeal to his honour as a soldier probably had weight with himself: hence *speciosiora*, 'the fairer-seeming:' it was, or seemed, the more honourable course—one could scarcely say the more prudent. Suetonius knows nothing of this intended visit to the camp; of course an intention never executed is hard to prove or disprove.

2 *recenti favore*] It was thought that the tolerably favourable hearing they had given Galba (c. 18) was for Piso's sake.

infensus] Rather to be taken with *ut* than with *quia erat*, though the last comes in less baldly because the predicate to be supplied is so near at hand.

irati] 'They (perhaps Galba's advisers generally, probably those mentioned, viz. Laco and Icelus) in their present ill temper.'

et . . . creditur may mean that Tacitus leans to *either* of the hypotheses he suggests: either 'and belief in hatred is always easier' than in goodwill, so that if *ita vole-*

quidam et vidisse adfirmabant, credula fama inter gaudentes
 et incuriosos. Multi arbitrabantur compositum auctumque 3
 rumorem mixtis jam Othonianis, qui ad evocandum Galbam
 35 laeta falso volgaverint. Tum vero non populus tantum et
 imperita plebs in plausus et inmodica studia, sed equitum
 plerique ac senatorum, posito metu incauti, refractis Palatii
 foribus ruere intus ac se Galbae ostentare, praereptam sibi
 ultionem querentes. Ignavissimus quisque, et, ut res docuit, 2
 in periculo non ausurus, nimii verbis, linguae feroces; nemo
 scire, et omnes adfirmare, donec inopia veri, et consensu
 errantium victus, sumpto thorace Galba, inruenti turbae neque
 aetate neque corpore sistens, sella levaretur. Obvius in 3
 Palatio Julius Atticus speculator, cruentum gladium ostentans,
 occisum a se Othonem exclamavit; et Galba, 'Commilito,'

bant, their belief readily followed their wish; or perhaps better, 'and I find it easier to believe in his hatred.' The latter gives a better force to the comparative. Moreover, Vinius had opposed Piso's adoption.

credula] There seems no instance of this word meaning 'easy of belief' in a passive sense, as Ernesti took it; it must be a sort of half personification of Rumour.

incuriosos] 'Uncritical' rather than 'indifferent.'

3 compositum auctumque] 'That it was got up on purpose, and spread more widely because Otho's men (from the camp) had by this time mixed in the crowd;' its original authors were not *Othoniani* in the sense of being in his conspiracy, though they raised the report in his interest.

CH. XXXV. 1 **populus . . . plebs]** Practically synonymous, only the latter a shade more contemptuous: so the two words are coupled at 36. 2; 40. 2; 72. 3.

in . . . studia] With *ruere*,

though the verb when it comes has a construction of its own with *intus*, in the literal sense of physical motion.

2 feroces is no doubt the construction: M. has *ferocis*, but the general usage of this MS. is not to spell the nom. pl. with an *i*, so this is probably meant for a gen. sing., which would be both less forcible and less symmetrical.

thorace] A linen one, according to Suetonius, was all he could stand, and he makes Galba say it would be little use; but Tacitus implies that it was sword-proof, 41. 7.

sistens] Never elsewhere with the dative: it must mean like *resistens*, 'standing against.' Either Tacitus wrote *corpore resistens* and one *re* dropped out, or he wrote as in the text to avoid the cacophony *re re*.

3 speculator] He had, or pretended to have, gone to the camp and back since Piso's speech. The *speculatores* were attached to Otho's interest (see on 31. 1), but his boast was perhaps principally in his own.

inquit, 'quis jussit?' insigni animo ad coërcendam militarem licentiam, minantibus intrepidus, adversus blandientes incorruptus.

- 36 Haud dubiae jam in castris omnium mentes; tantusque ardor ut, non contenti agmine et corporibus, in suggestu, in quo paulo ante aurea Galbae statua fuerat, medium inter signa Othonem vexillis circumdarent. Nec tribunis aut centurionibus² adeundi locus: gregarius miles caveri insuper praepositos jubebat. Strepere cuncta clamoribus et tumultu et exhortatione mutua, non tanquam in populo ac plebe, variis segni adulatione vocibus, sed ut quemque adfluentium militum aspexerant, prensare manibus, complecti armis, conlocare juxta, praeire sacramentum, modo imperatorem militibus modo

insigni . . . licentiam] There and there only he was in his element.

minantibus] Probably an abl., 'unshaken by threats,' though one might make it a dative, 'whom threateners found they could not shake.'

CH. XXXVI. **1 agmine et corporibus]** Not content with forming their bodies into a solid mass round him,—a practical acknowledgment of him as their leader,—they consecrated him as such with the *signa* and *vexilla*. *Agmen*, properly an army in marching order, approaches in usage what we should call 'formation in column,' i.e. an order where the depth exceeds the breadth. A *charging* column is *cuneus*, ii. 42. 4. Neither Greeks nor Romans ever fought 'in line' in our sense, i.e. less than four deep.

aurea] No doubt of gilt bronze. Nerva is said to have forbidden such statues to be made of himself, but his successors did not persevere in the refusal.

inter signa vexillis] The *signa* are fixtures so long as the army remains encamped; the *vexilla* are probably more easily portable,

certainly less sacred, and moved on slighter occasion.

2 insuper comes to mean the same as *ultra*, and might almost be translated 'on the contrary.'

non tanquam . . . vocibus] In a crowd of civilians (such as has just been described as surrounding Galba) every one wanted to flatter, but no one wanted to act, or had the habit of concerted action; here every one half fell into his place spontaneously, half was forced into it, so as to co-operate with the rest. *In populo ac plebe* may be 'in a popular assembly or a mob' (Church and Brodribb), if any marked distinction is meant between the two; but see on 35. 1 for evidence that there is none.

armis] With the shield on the left arm, and probably a weapon in the right hand. Strange to say, Ritter takes the word as masculine, 'in their arms,' here and in Virg. *Aen.* xii. 432.

conlocare juxta] They make them, by moral and physical pressure, fall into the ranks; then one man goes through the words of the oath, and knows that from force of

milites imperatori commendare. Nec deerat Otho, protendens ³
 manus, adorare volgum, jacere oscula, et omnia serviliter pro
 dominatione. Postquam universa classicorum legio sacra- ⁴
 mentum ejus accepit, fidens viribus, et quos adhuc singulos
 exstimulaverat, accendendos in commune ratus, pro vallo
 37 castrorum ita coepit:—‘Quis ad vos processerim, commili-
 tones, dicere non possum, quia nec privatum me vocare
 sustineo princeps a vobis nominatus, nec principem alio
 imperante. Vestrum quoque nomen in incerto erit, donec ²
 dubitabitur imperatorem populi Romani in castris an hostem
 habeatis. Auditisne ut poena mea et supplicium vestrum ³
 simul postulentur? adeo manifestum est neque perire nos
 neque salvos esse nisi una posse. Et, cujus lenitatis est Galba, ⁴
 jam fortasse promisit, ut qui nullo exposcente tot milia inno-
 centissimorum militum trucidaverit. Horror animum subit, ⁵
 quotiens recorder feralem introitum et hanc solam Galbae
 victoriam, cum in oculis urbis decumari deditos juberet, quos

habit his neighbour will join in them with him.

3 adorare] In its etymological meaning, and so nearly synonymous with *jacere oscula*—though the associations of the commoner derived meaning come in.

dominatione] The most invidious word for supreme power; he makes himself their slave to-day, that they and their countrymen may be his slaves for ever.

4 classicorum legio] In 31. 7 we were told they united with the Praetorians, *i.e.* marched into their camp. Now they had not only resolved to co-operate with them, but resolved on the object to co-operate for.

CH. XXXVII. 1 **commilitones]** Galba was said to be the first emperor who condescended to call his men so; this frankness being the one popular element in his character. Otho is careful to imi-

tate it; only Tacitus lets us feel how incongruous it is with him.

sustineo] ‘I have not the impudence.’

3 Auditisne] The demand was being made (32. 1); the soldiers’ cries could be heard in the city (31. 1), and so no doubt the citizens’ cries could in the camp; but who, except Tacitus, knew what they were about?

supplicium] The distinction, if any, from *poena* is that he would be tried and sentenced, they punished summarily—no doubt decimated, according to the precedent mentioned in the next sentence.

4 tot milia] According to Dion, 7000 in the first massacre; but that must, even before the decimation, surely be an exaggeration. Compare, however, 6. 3, where Tacitus uses in his own person the same words as Otho.

hanc solam Galbae victoriam]

deprecantes in fidem acceperat. His auspiciis urbem ingressus, 6
 quam gloriam ad principatum attulit nisi occisi Obultronii
 Sabini et Cornelii Marcelli in Hispania, Betui Chilonis in
 Gallia, Fonteii Capitonis in Germania, Clodii Macri in Africa,
 Cingonii in via, Turpiliani in urbe, Nymphidii in castris?
 Quae usquam provincia, quae castra sunt, nisi cruenta et 7
 maculata, aut ut ipse praedicat, emendata et correcta? nam
 quae alii scelera, hic remedia vocat, dum falsis nominibus
 severitatem pro saevitia, parsimoniam pro avaritia, supplicia
 et contumelias vestras disciplinam appellat. Septem a Neronis 8
 fine menses sunt, et jam plus rapuit Icelus quam quod Poly-
 cliti et Vatinii et Aegiali paraverunt. Minore avaritia ac 9
 licentia grassatus esset T. Vinius, si ipse imperasset: nunc
 et subjectos nos habuit tanquam suos, et viles ut alienos.
 Una illa domus sufficit donativo, quod vobis nunquam datur 10
 38 et cotidie exprobratur. Ac, ne qua saltem in successore
 Galbae spes esset, accersit ab exsilio quem tristitia et avaritia
 sui simillimum judicabat. Vidistis, commilitones, notabili 2
 tempestate etiam deos infaustam adoptionem aversantes.

In his service on the German frontier (49. 8) he had never commanded an army in a pitched battle; in his revolt against Nero the only battle fought was the *defeat* of Vindex.

8 **paraverunt**] A correction required by the sense; M. has *Aegialii perierunt*, whence some *et qui alii perierunt*. But Aegialus (not -lius), though not elsewhere known, is likely enough to have been the name of a freedman of Nero. *Petierunt*, though closer than *paraverunt* to the MS. reading, makes a less forcible sense; it would make the antithesis to *rapuit* 'he takes the goods of others, they only asked the emperor to give of his own,' while the text makes it 'he has seized it by no means but greedy force; they made their

fortune by a certain sort of industry and economy.'

9] Tacitus does not seem to pay much attention to the suspicion that Vinius was in the conspiracy; but it seems plain that if he was, Otho resolved to throw him over after using him.

10 **exprobratur**] See on 25. 3.

CH. XXXVIII. 1 **Galbae**] Most simply taken as a genitive with *successore*,—put after the governing word, contrary to the general rule, because 'the successor' is the prominent thought, and it is only an afterthought to name the person he succeeds. Else it *could* be a dative, 'For fear Galba should leave us any hope,'—almost the same as *per Galbam*.

2] See 18. 1.

Idem senatus, idem populi Romani animus est. Vestra 3
virtus expectatur, apud quos omne honestis consiliis robur,
et sine quibus quamvis egregia invalida sunt. Non ad bellum 4
vos nec ad periculum voco : omnium militum arma nobiscum
sunt. Nec una cohors togata defendit nunc Galbam, sed 5
detinet. Cum vos aspexerit, cum signum meum acceperit,
hoc solum erit certamen, quis mihi plurimum imputet. Nullus 6
cunctationis locus est in eo consilio quod non potest laudari
nisi peractum.' Aperire deinde armamentarium jussit. Rapta 7
statim arma, sine more et ordine militiae, ut praetorianus aut
legionarius insignibus suis distingueretur : miscentur auxiliari-
bus galeis scutisque, nullo tribunorum centurionumve adhort-
ante, sibi quisque dux et instigator ; et praecipuum pessimorum
incitamentum, quod boni maerebant.

39 Jam exterritus Piso fremitu crebrescentis seditionis et voci-
bus in urbem usque resonantibus, egressum interim Galbam
et foro appropinquantem adsecutus erat ; jam Marius Celsus
haud laeta rettulerat, cum alii in Palatium redire, alii Capito-

3 **Idem**] The same as that of the gods ; they, the senate and the people, have made up their minds ; they are only waiting for the army.

4 **militum arma**] 'All the soldiers in arms,' opposed to the *cohors togata*. This last name was literally applicable, and seems to have been almost a technical name for the cohort on duty at the palace ; so Martial vi. 76. 1, '*Ille sacri lateris custos Martisque togati*.' It was *civile* that the chief of the state, if he must have a body-guard, should have one that looked like armed citizens, not professional soldiers.

5. **detinet**] Prevents his flight ; it is not meant that they held him prisoner.

quis] Whether they or you.

imputet] 'Oblige me most,' C. and B. ; meaning properly 'establish the largest claim on me to his own credit,' it comes, like our

word 'oblige,' to mean simply 'do me the greatest service.' This use of the word is first found in Ovid.

6] He recurs to the sentiment of 37. 2, that they have to prove that they are *not* mutineers.

7 **Ut . . . distingueretur**] Epexegetical of *ordine militiae*.

CH. XXXIX.] Piso had started to visit the Praetorian camp, 34. 2, 3 : he turns back, judging from the noise that his mission is useless ; comes to the palace, and finds Galba gone, and overtakes him just outside.

Capitolium] Which was (as was proved next year) more defensible than the Palatine, and which men would be more scrupulous in assaulting.

redire . . . petere] Probably not historical infinitives co-ordinate with *censerent*, but in a lax sense depending on it. Indeed, one

lium petere, plerique Rostra occupanda censerent, plures tantum sententiis aliorum contradicerent, utque evenit in consiliis infelicibus, optima viderentur quorum tempus effugerat. Agitasse Laco ignaro Galba de occidendo Tito Vinio dicitur, 2 sive ut poena ejus animos militum mulceret, seu conscium Othonis credebat, ad postremum vel odio. Haesitationem 3 attulit tempus ac locus, quia initio caedis orto difficilis modus. Et turbavere consilium trepidi nuntii ac proximorum diffugia, languentibus omnium studiis qui primo alacres fidem atque 40 animum ostentaverant. Agebatur huc illuc Galba, vario turbae fluctuantis impulsu, completis undique basilicis ac templis, lugubri prospectu. Neque populi aut plebis ulla vox, sed 2 attoniti voltus et conversae ad omnia aures. Non tumultus, 3 non quies, quale magni metus et magnae irae silentium est.

could not say *redire censeo* for *redeundum censeo*; but Tac. has not made up his mind what verb he will use.

occupanda] 'Secure,' before the mutineers came up.

plerique . . . plures] Of the three parties who gave any positive advice, those who recommended the Rostra were largest; but those who confined themselves to opposing everything were more numerous than all three.

2 poena] Perhaps best taken as ablative.

vel] As in 33. 4, we see the transition between the two apparently distinct meanings of this particle. Else one might say that the two first hypotheses (*sive . . . seu*) are grouped together and contrasted with the third. He may have thought of it from policy (and that on one of two grounds) or merely from personal ill-will.

3 Laco had two reasons for not killing Vinius; first, he was afraid it might be taken as an act of treason to Galba, and a signal for the massacre of him and his sup-

porters; secondly, he saw that the people were beginning to desert, and lost his presence of mind too completely to do anything.

diffugia] Ἀπαξ λεγόμενον.

CH. XL. 1 **huc illuc]** 'From side to side.' The bearers of the chair, no doubt, kept the general direction they intended, but had to push their way through the crowd, and could not go fast or straight.

lugubri prospectu] 'Thronged with spectators of this mournful sight,' C. and B.; not that the abl. depends on *completis*, but is absolute, 'the sight before them being a mournful one.' If this seems harsh or obscure, the sense must be, 'Galba from his chair had a discouraging prospect,' seeing every one crowd round to see what happened, but every one who was expected to help him edge away.

2 populi aut plebis] There was not the utterance of a great nation in its lawful assembly, nor even the shouting of a promiscuous crowd: *populus* and *plebs* are the same persons regarded in different lights.

quale . . . silentium est] Every

Othoni tamen armari plebem nuntiabatur. Ire praecipites et 4
 occupare pericula jubet. Igitur milites Romani, quasi Volo-
 gesen aut Pacorum avito Arsacidarum solio depulsuri ac non
 imperatorem suum inermem et senem trucidare pergerent,
 disjecta plebe, proculcato senatu, truces armis, rapidi equis
 forum irrumpunt. Nec illos Capitolii aspectus et imminentium
 templorum religio et priores et futuri principes terruere, quo
 41 minus facerent scelus cujus ultor est quisquis successit. Viso
 comminus armatorum agmine, vexillarius comitatae Galbam
 cohortis (Atilium Vergilionem fuisse tradunt,) dereptam Galbae
 imaginem solo adflixit. Eo signo manifesta in Othonem 2
 omnium militum studia, desertum fuga populi forum, dstricta
 adversus dubitantes tela. Juxta Curtii lacum trepidatione 3
 ferentium Galba projectus e sella ac provolutus est. Extremam 4
 ejus vocem, ut cuique odium aut admiratio fuit, varie prodidere.
 Alii suppliciter interrogasse quid mali meruisset; paucos dies
 exsolvendo donativo deprecatur. Plures obtulisse ultro per- 5

one thought it was a shame to desert Galba, but every one was afraid to say so, much more to fight for him.

tamen] Though they did nothing, and even said nothing, Otho's partisans felt that they were hostile to them.

Vologesen] The actual Parthian king; *Pacorum*, the Parthian hero of the past.

priores . . . principes] There were the statues of the seven kings, that of Caesar beside them, and similar statues of the successive Emperors added to his.

futuri] The statues and historical buildings bring before the eye the past *continuity* of Roman history, which suggests its future *perpetuity*.

CH. XLI. 1 **vexillarius]** Here plainly 'standard-bearer'; and so iii. 17. 2; elsewhere in Tacitus always only a veteran *sub vexillo*.

dereptam] From his standard.

2 omnium militum] The individuals of the *cohors* now give way to the class feeling they share with the other soldiers (while till now their instinct of routine obedience has kept them true to their colours).

4, 5] Suetonius makes the contrast of tone between the two reported sayings less marked. He gives the former as '*Quid agitis, commilitones? ego vester sum et vos mei*,' though adding that he promised a donative; in the latter, he omits the almost affected sententiousness of *e re p.*, '*ut hoc agerent et ferirent, quando ita videretur*.' *Agerent ac ferirent* would be naturally taken as a paraphrase of *agite ferite*, 'come, strike!' but Suetonius's *hoc agerent* looks almost more as though Galba (or his admirers, who imagined the phrase for him) meant to recall the formula *hoc age!* addressed at a sacrifice to

- cussoribus jugulum : agerent ac ferirent, si ita *e* re publica videretur. Non interfuit occidentium quid diceret. De percussore non satis constat. Quidam Terentium evocatum, alii Lecanium ; crebrior fama tradidit Camurium quintae decimae legionis militem inpresso gladio jugulum ejus hausisse. Ceteri 7 crura brachiaque (nam pectus tegebatur,) foede laniavere ; pleraque vulnera feritate et saevitia trunco jam corpori adjecta.
- 42 Titum inde Vinium invasere. De quo et ipso ambigitur, consumpserintne vocem ejus instans metus, an proclamaverit non esse ab Othone mandatum ut occideretur. Quod seu 2 finxit formidine seu conscientiam conjurationis confessus est, huc potius ejus vita famaue inclinat, ut conscius sceleris fuerit cujus causa erat. Ante aedem divi Julii jacuit primo 3 ictu in poplitem, mox ab Julio Caro legionario milite in utrum-
- 43 que latus transverberatus. Insignem illa die virum Sempronium Densum aetas nostra vidit. Centurio is praetoriae cohortis, a Galba custodiae Pisonis additus, stricto pugione occurrens

the slayer of the victim, and so at an execution to the lictor. Is Galba meant to emulate the mythical Pope's *judico me cremari*, and salve his soldiers' allegiance by officially ordering his own execution?

e re publica] Literally 'on the side of the national weal;' *e*, omitted by M., is a quite certain correction.

6 occidentium] No one else could hear, and they did not heed. Plutarch omits Lecanius's name, and adds two others. Notice the way that Tacitus avoids repeating the fatal blow, which has a rhetorical effect, something like that in *Aen.* iv. 663-4.

quintae decimae] It was in Germany, but he was no doubt in one of the detachments mentioned in 6. 5 ; 31. 3, 8.

7 tegebatur] 35. 2.

CH. XLII. 1 conscientiam] So edd., though M. has *conscientia* ;

this is of slight weight, as final *m* is usually expressed only by a flourish over the preceding vowel ; and the change of construction is perhaps more like Tacitus. Else the ablative is hardly as absurd as Orelli considers it ; *quod* might be a sort of cognate accusative : 'whether this *were an invention* arising from fear, or a confession of complicity in the conspiracy.'

huc] 'To the latter alternative, viz., that : ' *huc* is in fact antecedent to the relative adverb *ut* ; *eo* would have been used if the previous clause had not contained an antithesis.

3 in poplitem goes with *ictu*, not with *jacuit* ; for *poples* is always the *back* of the lines.

CH. XLIII. 1 Densum] Plutarch calls him Sempronius *Indister*. He and Dio make him sacrifice his life for Galba, not Piso.

pugione] Apparently an officer's

armatis et scelus exprobrans, ac modo manu modo voce vertendo in se percussores, quāquam vulnerato Pisoni effugium dedit. Piso in aedem Vestae pervasit, exceptusque ² misericordia publici servi et contubernio ejus abditus, non religione nec caerimoniis sed latebra imminens exitium differebat, cum advenere missu Othonis, nominatim in caedem ejus ardentibus, Sulpicius Florus e Britannicis cohortibus, nuper a Galba civitate donatus, et Statius Murcus speculator; a quibus ² 44 protractus Piso in foribus templi trucidatur. Nullam caedem Otho majore laetitia excepisse, nullum caput tam insatiabilibus oculis perlustrasse dicitur, seu tum primum levata omni sollicitudine mens vacare gaudio coeperat, seu recordatio majestatis in Galba, amicitiae in Tito Vinio quamvis inimitem animum imagine tristi confuderat: Pisonis ut inimici et aemuli caedere laetari jus fasque credebat. Praefixa contis capita gestabantur, ² inter signa cohortium, juxta aquilam legionis, certatim ostentantibus cruentas manus qui occiderant, qui interfuerant, qui vere qui falso ut pulchrum et memorabile facinus jactabant.

weapon, as compared with the common soldier's *gladius*; see iii. 68. 3. Or., however (on 82. 5), quotes authorities against this view.

² **non religione . . . sed latebra]** He does not mean to blame Piso for hiding, but says that the soldiers would not have respected the sanctuary. *Protractus*, however, implies (as in several Greek instances) a sort of inconsistent dread of polluting it by blood.

nominatim . . . ardentibus] Eager to kill *Piso* in particular, he being named in Otho's charge to them; though sometimes taken 'expressly named because eager to kill him.'

CH. XLIV. **i imagine tristi confuderat]** The tense implies merely that he had seen their heads before *Piso's*; the words probably mean no more than that he had been shocked at the sight, though some

refer to a story in Dio, that Otho in his turn had bad omens in sacrifice, and seemed the night after to have had a terrible dream.

inimici et aemuli] The first word pointing the contrast with Vinius, the second with Galba.

² **signa . . . aquilam]** Similarly distinguished in ii. 43. 2, iii. 22. 5.

ostentantibus . . . jactabant] 'Those who had killed them, those who had been present' (near enough perhaps to dip their hands in blood on purpose), 'or who, whether truly or falsely, boasted of either, showing,' etc. Ritter says that only the actual slayers would be able to show bloody hands,—which nevertheless the pretended slayer of Otho had managed to do,—so he puts a stop after *manus* and takes *qui occiderant, qui interfuerant, qui*

Plures quam centum viginti libellos praemium exposcentium 3
ob aliquam notabilem illa die operam Vitellius postea invenit;
omnesque conquiri et interfici jussit, non honore Galbae, sed
tradito principibus more, munimentum ad praesens, in posterum
ultionem.

- 45 Alium crederes senatum, alium populum. Ruere cuncti in
castra, anteire proximos, certare cum praecurrentibus, increpare
Galbam, laudare militum judicium, exoculari Othonis manum;
quantoque magis falsa erant quae fiebant, tanto plura facere.
Nec aspernabatur singulos Otho, avidum et minacem militum 2
animum voce voltuque temperans. Marium Celsum consulem 3
designatum et Galbae usque in extremas res amicum fidumque
ad supplicium expostulabant, industriae ejus innocentiaeque
quasi malis artibus infensi. Caedis et praedarum initium et 4
optimo cuique perniciem quaeri apparebat. Sed Othoni 5
nondum auctoritas inerat ad prohibendum scelus: jubere jam
poterat. Ita simulatione irae, vinciri jussum et majores poenas
46 daturum affirmans, praesenti exitio subtraxit. Omnia deinde
arbitrio militum acta. Praetorii praefectos sibi ipsi legere,

vere qui falso as subject to *jactabant*.
But *qui vere qui falso* without a
verb cannot balance *qui occiderant*,
etc.

3 **tradito principibus more**] 'To
comply with the traditional policy
of rulers,' C. and B. Perhaps rather
'by way of establishing a precedent
for (future) emperors;' *principes* is
best taken in its official Roman
sense, and among Roman emperors
there had been no precedent yet.

munimentum . . . ultionem
may be called in a sense cognate
accusatives after *jussit*; 'he issued
orders for them to be . . . (which
orders were, or an act which was) a
security,' etc.

CH. XLV. 1 **judicium**] 'The
decision;' they are conceived as
an authoritative tribunal.

fiebant] Seldom in the uncom-
pounded tenses used so directly as
a passive of *facere*.

2] One would have expected
Otho to accept compliments from
the senate as a body, but to reject
them from individuals whom he
knew for his opponents. Instead
of doing that, he even kept the
soldiers off those whom *they* knew
for his opponents.

3 **malis artibus** practically
means 'bad *qualities*.'

4 **optimo cuique** still means 'the
party of order,' as Cicero proposes
it as a definition of *optimates*.

5 **nondum . . . jam**] A little
earlier they would have either
murdered the man or let him alone,
without consulting Otho; now his
authority had got so far that orders

Plotium Firmum e manipularibus quondam, tum vigilibus. praepositum et incolumi adhuc Galbā partes Othonis secutum. Adjungitur Licinius Proculus, intima familiaritate Othonis, 2 suspectus consilia ejus fovisse. Urbi Flavium Sabinum praefecere, judicium Neronis secuti, sub quo eandem curam obtinuerat, plerisque Vespasianum fratrem in eo respicientibus. Flagitatum ut vacationes praestari centurionibus solitae remitterentur. Namque gregarius miles ut tributum annuum pendebat. Quarta pars manipuli sparsa per commeatus aut in ipsis 4 castris vaga, dum mercedem centurioni exsolveret, neque modum oneris quisquam neque genus quaestus pensi habebat. Per latrocinia et raptus aut servilibus ministeriis militare otium 5 redimebant. Tum locupletissimus quisque miles labore ac saevitia fatigari, donec vacationem emeret. Ubi sumptibus 6 exhaustus socordia insuper elanguerat, inops pro locuplete et iners pro strenuo in manipulum redibat; ac rursus alius atque alius, eadem egestate ac licentia corrupti, ad seditiones et

were asked for, and positive orders obeyed, though negative would not be.

CH. XLVI. 1 **incolumi . . . secutum**] While apparently the city troops generally adhered to Galba, till the actual advance of the Praetorians and those who had joined them.

2 **suspectus**] Used with a sort of irony; to be suspected of treason was a recommendation. *Intima familiaritate* may be an ablative of quality, 'an intimate friend of Otho,' but perhaps better taken with *suspectus*.

Urbi . . . praefecere] *Praefectus urbi* is as common as *urbis*, and reminded people that *praefectus* is properly a participle, not a noun. But to use the verb in the technical sense, is perhaps Tacitean rather than natural Latin.

3 **vacationes** must mean the

money paid for leave, here and in § 7.

4 **Quarta pars manipuli sparsa**]

What is called the *nominativus pendens*, i.e. really in apposition with *quisquam*, one of the two nominatives denoting the whole, the other referring to the individuals composing it. Or. takes *quisquam* as including the centurions,—they cared as little how the camp duty might suffer, as the soldiers did how their own character might; but the construction as thus explained seems to confine the pronoun's reference to the *manipulares*.

modum oneris can hardly mean 'the amount of the tax' (C. and B.), which was surely fixed, but how heavily it might fall on each man. They had to pay it somehow, and did not care if it was more than they could raise by fair means, as they had no scruples about foul.

discordias et ad extremum bella civilia ruebant. Sed Otho 7 ne volgi largitione centurionum animos averteret, fiscum suum vacationes annuas exsoluturum promisit, rem haud dubie utilem, et a bonis postea principibus perpetuitate disciplinae firmatam. Laco praefectus, tamquam in insulam seponeretur, 8 ab evocato, quem ad caedem ejus Otho praemisera, confossus; in Marcianum Icelum ut in libertum palam animadversum.

- 47 Exacto per scelera die novissimum malorum fuit laetitia. Vocat senatum praetor urbanus; certant adulationibus ceteri magistratus. Adcurrunt patres; decernitur Othoni tribunicia 2 potestas et nomen Augusti et omnes principum honores, adnitentibus cunctis abolere convicia ac probra, quae promisce jacta haesisse animo ejus nemo sensit. Omisisset offensas an 3 distulisset, brevitate imperii in incerto fuit. Otho, cruento adhuc foro, per stragem jacentium in Capitolium atque inde in Palatium vectus concedi corpora sepulturae cremarique permisit. Pisonem Verania uxor ac frater Scribonianus, Titum 4

7 **Fiscum suum**] He only committed himself, not his successors.

rem . . . utilem] In apposition to the sentence which forms the object to *promisit*: see the last note on c. 44.

postea] Vitellius had already adopted the plan independently, *inf.* 58. 1. The rather cumbrous device of the commander paying fees for the soldiers was practically what we should call the recognition of a vested interest. In the eyes of Juvenal (xiv. 194 sqq.) the attraction, such as it was, of a centurion's post, was not glory but money.

8 **tamquam . . . seponeretur . . . confossus**] 'Was stabbed under pretence of being sent into banishment.' The Latin order of the sentence, keeping the main predicate till the end, helps to excuse a slight confusion in the connexion of words. Laco was not 'stabbed as though he were going into exile,' but first

treated as though going into exile, and then stabbed.

libertum] More contemptuous than *libertinum*. That would mean that he belonged to an ignoble class; this treats him as a mere member of Galba's household, whose death was a matter of course, and of no interest, after his master's.

CH. XLVII. 1 **Vocat . . . urbanus**] The constitutional course when both consuls were killed or absent; Cic. *ad Fam.* x. 12. 3; so also Liv. xxii. 55. 1.

2 **quae . . . nemo sensit**] Does Tacitus mean to blame them for not reflecting that Otho would remember them, or to praise him for not making them feel that he did? Perhaps both, but the next sentence shows that the latter was more present to his mind.

3 **in Capitolium**] To offer sacrifices, which, it is said, were as unfavourable as Galba's.

Vinium Crispina filia composuere, quaesitis redemptisque
 48 capitibus, quae venalia interfectores servaverant. Piso unum
 et tricesimum aetatis annum explebat, fama meliore quam
 fortuna. Fratres ejus Magnum Claudius, Crassum Nero inter-
 fecerant. Ipse diu exsul, quadriduo Caesar, properata adoptione ²
 ad hoc tantum majori fratri praelatus est, ut prior occideretur.
 Titus Vinium quinquaginta septem annos variis moribus egit. ³
 Pater illi praetoria familia, maternus avus e proscriptis. Prima ⁴
 militia infamis legatum Calvisium Sabinum habuerat, cujus
 uxor mala cupidine visendi situm castrorum, per noctem
 militari habitu ingressa, cum vigilias et cetera militiae munia
 eadem lascivia temerasset, in ipsis principiis stuprum ausa; et
 criminis hujus reus Titus Vinium arguebatur. Igitur jussu ⁵
 G. Caesaris oneratus catenis, mox mutatione temporum
 dimissus, cursu honorum inoffenso legioni post praeturam

⁴ **composuere**] Though applic-
 able to any burial (Hor. *Sat.* i. 9.
 28), is used here as suggesting, with
 a grim literalness, the burial of a
mutilated body.

venalia] According to Plutarch,
 Verania had Piso's given her, but
 Crispina had to pay.

CH. XLVIII. ¹ **explebat**] 'Was
 on the point of completing.'

Fratres] We have other notices
 of them, but no detailed accounts of
 their death. Magnus was Claudius'
 son-in-law, and was said to have
 been a victim of Messalina; from
 iv. 42. 2, it appears Crassus was
 prosecuted by Regulus.

² **quadriduo**] Four *whole* days,
 besides the end of one and be-
 ginning of another. It is commoner
 in Latin to include both extremes
 than to exclude both, while we
 commonly include one.

majori fratri] Sup. 15. 3. Does
prior mean that Scribonianus also
 came to a violent end, only later?

³ **praetoria familia**] Cf. *Ann.*
 iii. 30. 2. Notice how the nobility
 (in the technical sense) tended to

subdivide itself into higher and
 lower grades. There were houses
 that had attained every official dis-
 tinction except the highest: if we
 are to take Hor. *Sat.* i. 6. ult. as
 serious, there were others who were
 proud of having squeezed into the
 lowest, but who stuck there when
 once in.

maternus avus] And he or his
 son was probably his adoptive
 father; since Dio mentions a T.
 Vinium as having been saved by his
 wife in the Proscription.

⁴ **Prima militia**] Perhaps best
 taken as an abl., 'in his first cam-
 paign he was discredited, having
 had . . . ' Sabinus' own character
 seems to have been no better than
 his wife's.

mala . . . castrorum] A half
 jocular and half bitter irony. She
 wanted to try what the quarters
 were like in every section of the
 camp; she went the rounds of all,
 ending with the general's, where
 he could not help detecting her.

⁵ **post praeturam**] Apparently
 he could rise no higher than his

praepositus probatusque, servili deinceps probro respersus est
 tamquam scyphum aureum in convivio Claudii furatus; et
 Claudius postera die soli omnium Vinio fictilibus ministrari
 jussit. Sed Vinius proconsulatu Galliam Narbonensem severe 6
 integreque rexit. Mox Galbae amicitia in abruptum tractus, 7
 audax, callidus, promptus et, prout animum intendisset, pravus
 aut industrius, eadem vi. Testamentum Titi Vinii magnitudine 8
 opum inritum; Pisonis supremam voluntatem paupertas firma-
 49 vit. Galbae corpus diu neglectum et licentia tenebrarum
 plurimis ludibriis vexatum dispensator Argius, e prioribus
 servis, humili sepultura in privatis ejus hortis contextit. Caput 2
 per lixas calonesque suffixum laceratumque, ante Patrobii
 tumultum (libertus is Neronis punitus a Galba fuerat,) postera
 demum die repertum et cremato jam corpori admixtum est.
 Hunc exitum habuit Servius Galba, tribus et septuaginta annis 3
 quinque principes prospera fortuna emensus, et alieno imperio

fathers, apart from such special favour as he got from Galba.

tamquam] This, and perhaps the *reus arguebatur* in the last sec., seem meant to avoid committing the writer to the direct statement of his guilt; while yet he evidently thinks the suspicion in both cases strong enough to discredit him.

8 **Testamentum . . . supremam voluntatem]** Vinii's legal 'will' is distinguished from Piso's 'last wishes,' rather because it was a more extensive document, disposing of a larger property, than because the latter was not drawn up in legal form. From the business-like habits of Roman nobles, it probably was so, in spite of Piso's youth; and it is hardly likely that he can have sent a message home while in hiding.

CH. XLIX. 1 **e prioribus servis]** 'Quos ante principatum habuerat,' Or. One might add, whom he had emancipated before his accession. An imperial freedman like Icelus

was the worst sort of courtier; the confidential freedman of a respectable noble was the best sort of retainer.

2 **per lixas]** Not a *lixis*; they are conceived as mere instruments of the murderers, who left the head to them.

admixtum] Being no doubt itself burnt, the ashes would literally mingle.

3 **Hunc exitum]** Notice, as a feature in the history of thought, that the biographies of Piso, Vinii, and Galba end, not with the death of each, but with his burial.

tribus et sept.] Nero had been warned, it was said, by an oracle to beware of the seventy-third year. He supposed that he was to die at 73, but was overthrown at 31 by a man of 73,—in what ought to be called A.D. 73, if the *vana mirantes* (Ann. i. 9. 1) want a further coincidence.

quinque principes] As we should say, 'five reigns;' see on i. 1.

felicior quam suo. Vetus in familia nobilitas, magnae opes : 4
 ipsi medium ingenium, magis extra vitia quam cum virtutibus.
 Famae nec incuriosus nec venditator. Pecuniae alienae non 5
 appetens, suae parcus, publicae avarus. Amicorum libertorum- 6
 que, ubi in bonos incidisset, sine reprehensione patiens, si
 mali forent, usque ad culpam ignarus. Sed claritas natalium 7
 et metus temporum obtentui, ut quod segnitia erat, sapientia
 vocaretur. Dum vigeat aetas, militari laude apud Germanias 8
 floruit. Pro consule Africam moderate, jam senior citeriorem
 Hispaniam pari justitia continuit, major privato visus, dum
 privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperas-
 set.

50 Trepidam urbem, ac simul atrocitatem recentis sceleris,
 simul veteres Othonis mores paventem, novus insuper de
 Vitellio nuntius exterruit, ante caedem Galbae suppressus, ut

Annual magistrates were naturally used as chronological landmarks ; it was a further step to use perpetual magistrates as chronological periods.

4 *Vetus . . . nobilitas*] Being in fact a member of one of the few surviving patrician houses. But Tacitus does not say so. The patricians had not only been lost among the nobility in the last two centuries of the Republic, but had been swamped by the new creations of Caesar and the Emperors after him. Otho was also a patrician, for it had pleased Claudius to make his father one ; but his grandfather was *modo Romae municipalis eques*, while a Sulpicius had been Consul A.U.C. 254.

extra] 'Lying clear of ;' the English 'without,' though an illustration of the process of thought, is hardly an equivalent. *Extra noxam* is used similarly in Terence and Livy.

5 *alienae . . . parcus*] Of course an intentional parody on

Sallust's opposite character of Catiline. There were numerous half-comic stories told of Galba's meanness in money matters.

6 *sine reprehensione* may mean that he was too tolerant to find fault with them ; but perhaps better, that you could not then find fault with him for his tolerance.

ignarus] He did not shield their vices wilfully, though he was blind to them.

7 *metus temporum*] Not that he was hailed as a saviour of society after his accession, but that before his accession he was supposed to adopt from prudence the inactive course natural to him.

8 *militari laude . . . floruit*] He had conducted successful campaigns in Upper Germany, when Proconsul in A.D. 39.

CH. L. 1 *suppressus*] 'Crushed down' and made the least of, but not 'suppressed.' Piso had told as much of the truth as he was allowed to tell, or perhaps to know.

tantum superioris Germaniae exercitum descivisse crederetur. Tum duos omnium mortalium inpudicitia ignavia luxuria 2 deterrimos velut ad perdendum imperium fataliter electos non senatus modo et eques, quibus aliqua pars et cura rei publicae, sed volgus quoque palam maerere. Nec jam recentia saevae 3 pacis exempla, sed repetita bellorum civilium memoria captam totiens suis exercitibus urbem, vastitatem Italiae, direptiones provinciarum, Pharsaliam Philippos et Perusiam ac Mutinam, nota publicarum cladum nomina, loquebantur. Prope eversum 4 orbem etiam cum de principatu inter bonos certaretur; sed mansisse G. Julio, mansisse Caesare Augusto victore imperium; mansuram fuisse sub Pompeio Brutoque rem publicam. Nunc 5 pro Othone an pro Vitellio in templa ituros? utrasque impias preces, utraque detestanda vota, inter duos quorum bello solum

exercitum . . . crederetur] Tacitus is rather fond of the impersonal construction with an *oratio obliqua*; e.g. 90. 2 fin.

2 **inpudicitia** would be more characteristic of Otho, *ignavia* of Vitellius; but either term apparently would apply to both.

pars] Not quite our 'stake in the country,' which implies something material, and to which, moreover, no one is essentially unable to attain, but 'all to whom the country in any way belonged.'

3] They left off talking of the instances they had seen of the horrors of peace to speculate on the horrid traditions of civil war.

saevae pacis exempla are the severities of the empire; the revolution against Nero, the massacres of Galba's progress, and even the death of the latter (iii. 68. 2) could hardly be called events of even a bloody peace.

totiens] See iii. 83. 3.

Pharsaliam Philippos balance in some sort *direptiones provinciarum*, and *Perusiam ac Mutinam, vastitatem Italiae*. This is why Tacitus

groups them in pairs, and deserts the chronological order.

4 **principatu]** 'The first place' in the state, whether a constitutional premiership or an usurped monarchy.

inter bonos] The Caesars enjoyed general admiration, while both their generosity or policy and the natural tradition of the aristocracy combined to prevent respectable people from condemning the Republican champions. But Tacitus is giving the popular opinion, not his own; as he is not among the worshippers of D. Augustus, so he is more than suspicious of Pompey's loyalty (ii. 38. 4).

imperium . . . rem p.] One must translate 'the Empire' and 'the Republic' (cf. note on i. 1. 2), but both the Latin words have dignified associations which the English have not. The paraphrase 'the principle of sovereign authority was preserved, the principle of national liberties would have been,' comes almost as near to expressing the meaning.

id scires, deteriorem fore qui vicisset. Erant qui Vespasianum 6
et arma Orientis augurarentur. Et ut potior utroque Vespasianus, ita bellum aliud atque alias clades horrebant. Et ambigua de Vespasiano fama; solusque omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est.

5¹ Nunc initia causasque motus Vitelliani expediam. Caeso cum omnibus copiis Julio Vindice, ferox praeda gloriaque exercitus, ut cui sine labore ac periculo ditissimi belli victoria evenisset, expeditionem et aciem, praemia quam stipendia malebat. Diu infructuosam et asperam militiam toleraverant 2 ingenio loci caelique et severitate disciplinae, quam in pace inexorabilem discordiae civium resolvunt, paratis utrimque corruptoribus et perfidia impunita. Viri, arma, equi ad usum 3 et ad decus supererant. Sed ante bellum centurias tantum suas turmasque noverant; exercitus finibus provinciarum discernebantur. Tum adversus Vindicem contractae legiones, 4 seque et Gallias expertae, quaerere rursum arma novasque

5 id scires, etc.] The sentence is elliptical: 'The only question the war would determine would be, which was the worse, viz., the conqueror.' The sense may be, that victory would teach him fresh vices, or rather that he would have a longer unrestrained career to show his vices in; or perhaps it is best of all to take it as a mere utterance of despairing pessimism—the man is sure to win who deserves it least.

6 ambigua . . . fama] See ii. 97 fin.

solusque omnium ante se] No doubt a conscious Graecism.

CH. LI. 1 ditissimi belli] A war where wealth was to be got.

expeditionem et aciem] Dependent on *volebat*, supplied from or rather contained in *malebat*.

praemia] Not 'prize-money' in our sense, but the rewards given to soldiers in acknowledgment for special services; contrasted with

stipendia, their regular periodical pay, while doing ordinary duty, but no more.

2 ingenio . . . severitate] Both the ablatives serve to account for *asperam*, the first for *infructuosam* also. For there were plenty of Germans whom they might lawfully have plundered, if Germany had produced any plunder worth taking.

quam] The antecedent is *severitate* rather than *disciplinae*; *inexorabilis* would be a harsh epithet for the latter.

3 decus] M. has *dedecus*, no doubt a mere casual *διτροχαφία*. Even if Tacitus had meant 'they had plenty for any useful services, or for mischief either,' *dedecus* would be a strange word to use.

4 seque] Perhaps 'each other;' or rather this is part of the meaning, but not the most prominent part. Each of the armies of Germany learnt to know what the

discordias ; nec socios, ut olim, sed hostes et victos vocabant. Nec deerat pars Galliarum, quae Rhenum accolit, easdem 5 partes secuta, ac tum acerrima instigatrix adversum Galbianos : hoc enim nomen fastidito Vindice indiderant. Igitur Sequanis 6 Aeduisque ac deinde, prout opulentia civitatibus erat, infensi, expugnationes urbium, populationes agrorum, raptus penatium hauserunt animo, super avaritiam et arrogantiam, praecipua validiorum vitia, contumaciâ Gallorum inritati, qui remissam sibi a Galba quartam tributorum partem et publice donatos in ignominiam exercitus jactabant. Accessit callide volgatum, 7 temere creditum, decumari legiones et promptissimum quemque centurionum dimitti. Undique atroces nuntii, sinistra ex 8 urbe fama ; infensa Lugdunensis colonia, et, pertinaci pro Nerone fide, fecunda rumoribus. Sed plurima ad fingendum 9 credendumque materies in ipsis castris, odio, metu, et ubi vires 52 suas respexerant, securitate. Sub ipsas superioris anni Kalendas Decembres Aulus Vitellius inferiorem Germaniam ingressus,

armies of Germany were like, and what the provinces of Gaul were like.

socios . . . hostes et victos] 'They called *them*,' i.e. *Gallios* implied in *Gallias*, 'no longer allies, but,' etc.

5 pars . . . accolit] The two provinces of Germany seem on a map to cut off all Gaul from the Rhine, but probably there was no marked geographical frontier between the two. Speaking roughly, the valley of the Moselle seems to have been Celtic, while both the Eifel and the Vosges were German : and the Gaulish nations, even down to the river, would be reckoned to belong to Gaul, while the armies of Germany extended their posts east of the river whenever they could.

Galbianos, etc.] They did not think Vindex a considerable enough person to give name to the party, while it was a bad sign that they treated Galba not as sovereign but

as a party leader.

6 hauserunt animo] Rather 'had filled their minds with' such things, than 'drunk deep of them in anticipation.'

donatos] *Se* is to be supplied from *sibi* as subject.

7 decumari . . . dimitti] That Galba had begun the process, that he was going on with it, and (in consequence) that in time it would be applied to them. Of course his real treatment of the *classarii* gave some foundation for the story.

8 sinistra . . . fama is certainly nom., and *infensa . . . colonia . . . fecunda* probably ; though the latter might be taken as an abl. abs. but for the other ablative *pertinaci . . . fide* depending on it.

rumoribus generally means, as here, rumours of commotion or revolution.

CH. LII. 1 **A. Vitellius . . . ingressus**, sup. 9. 2.

hiberna legionum cum cura adierat. Redditi plerisque ordines, 2 remissa ignominia, adlevatae notae, plura ambitione, quaedam iudicio, in quibus sordem et avaritiam Fonteii Capitonis adimendis adsignandisve militiae ordinibus integre mutaverat. Nec consularis legati mensura, sed in majus omnia accipie- 3 bantur. Et *ut* Vitellius apud severos humilis, ita comitatem bonitatemque faventes vocabant, quod sine modo, sine iudicio donaret sua, largiretur aliena; simul aviditate imperandi ipsa vitia pro virtutibus interpretabantur. Multi in utroque exercitu, 4 sicut modesti quietique, ita mali et strenui. Sed profusa cupidine et insigni temeritate legati legionum, Alienus Caecina et 5 Fabius Valens; e quibus Valens infensus Galbae tamquam detectam a se Verginii cunctationem, oppressa Capitonis consilia ingrate tulisset, instigare Vitellium, ardorem militum

hiberna legionum cum cura adierat] 'Had reached the quarters of the legions, with commission to take their command,' Or.; or, 'had carefully inspected the winter quarters of the legions,' C. and B. And attention to the physical comforts of his men was both natural to Vitellius, who was so careful of his own, and helped him to secure their goodwill.

2 ordines] Not 'their ranks,' but 'their companies,' and so practically 'the rank of centurion.'

sordem] The singular is rare, and as M. has *sorde* without a mark over the *e*, it is easy to read *sordes*. We have a similar case in 60. I; and perhaps the two help to justify each other, considering Tacitus's taste for unfamiliar expressions. Perhaps there is a shade of difference in sense; the plural is concrete and material shabbiness, this mental baseness.

3 Nec . . . accipiebantur] 'Nor was *his* measure taken *as* that of a legate and ex-consul, but all his claims to consideration were taken at more than their worth.' The

next sentence points out that he was thought to have personal as well as official claims.

ut] Easily omitted, *v̄t̄v̄it*.

faventes] 'Admiringly,' not 'his admirers,' still less 'the admirers of those qualities.' Tacitus admits (iii. 86. 3) that he deserved part of their praise.

aliena] That was not his, not that it belonged to other men, but to the state. If it had been the result of confiscations, he would have made as many enemies as friends.

imperandi] By making *him* emperor they would themselves secure the power of the empire.

4 Multi . . . strenui] 'Many as were the orderly and peaceable men in both armies, there were as many who were bad and vigorous.' *Multi*, though shown by its position to be meant for the subject of the sentence, must be translated as a predicate; the one class, as well as the other, were numerous.

5 cunctationem] Whether to accept the empire, sup. 8. 6, 7.

ostentans. Ipsum celebri ubique fama, nullam in Flacco 6
 Hordeonio moram ; adfore Britanniam, secutura Germanorum
 auxilia ; male fidas provincias, precarium seni imperium et
 brevi transiturum. Panderet modo sinum et venienti Fortunae 7
 occurreret. Merito dubitasse Verginium equestri familia, ignoto
 patre, inparem, si recepisset imperium, tutum, si recusasset.
 Vitellio tres patris consulatus, censuram, collegium Caesaris 8
 et inponere jampridem imperatoris dignationem et auferre
 53 privati securitatem. Quatiebatur his segne ingenium, ut con-
 cupisceret magis quam ut speraret. At in superiore Germania
 Caecina decora juvena, corpore ingens, animi inmodicus,
 scito sermone, erecto incessu studia militum inlexerat. Hunc 2
 juvenem Galba, quaestorem in Baetica, inpigre in partes suas
 transgressum legioni praeposuit ; mox compertum publicam
 pecuniam avertisse, ut peculatorem flagitari jussit. Caecina 3
 aegre passus miscere cuncta et privata volnera rei publicae
 malis operire statuit. Nec deerant in exercitu semina discordiae, 4
 quod et bello adversus Vindicem universus adfuerat, nec nisi
 occiso Nerone translatus in Galbam, atque in eo ipso sacra-
 mento vexillis inferioris Germaniae praeventus erat. Et Treveri 5
 ac Lingones, quasque alias civitates atrocibus edictis aut damno
 finium Galba perculerat, hibernis legionum propius miscentur ;

6 **precarium . . . transiturum**] A general sentiment : ' An old man holds the empire only on sufferance, and it is sure to change hands soon.'

7 **Panderet modo sinum**] ' Let him only spread his sails ;' as Juv. i. 150, *totos pande sinus*. But Or., while admitting that this metaphor is common, prefers to take it here as 'spread out his robe to catch what fortune showers in,' and so apparently C. and B., 'You have only to open your arms.'

8 **Caesaris**] Of a Caesar. He

had been Claudius' colleague both as consul and censor.

CH. LIII. 1 **scito**] M. has *cito*, which is indeed used as an epithet of oratory, but (1) always in a passage of technical rhetoric, (2) not as *per se* a term of praise.

2 **flagitari**] When used in this sense, the charge is oftener the subject than the criminal.

4 **vexillis** must be a dative of the agent.

5 **Treveri ac Lingones**] So the pl. of the latter always ; the spelling of the former varies. The singulars are *Trevir* and *Lingonus* (iv. 55. 2).

unde seditiosa colloquia, et inter paganos corruptior miles, et
 54 in Verginium favor cuicumque alii profuturus. Miserat civitas
 Lingonum vetere instituto dona legionibus, dextras, hospitii
 insigne. Legati eorum in squalorem maestitiamque compositi, 2
 per principia per contubernia modo suas injurias modo vicina-
 rum civitatum praemia, et ubi pronis militum auribus accipie-
 bantur, ipsius exercitus pericula et contumelias conquerentes
 accendebant animos. Nec procul seditione aberant, cum 3
 Hordeonius Flaccus abire legatos, utque occultior digressus
 esset, nocte castris excedere jubet. Inde atrox rumor, adfir- 4
 mantibus plerisque interfectos, ac nisi ipsi consulerent, fore ut
 acerrimi militum et praesentia conquesti per tenebras et
 inscitiam ceterorum occiderentur. Obstringuntur inter se 5
 tacito foedere legiones. Adsciscitur auxiliorum miles, primo
 suspectus tanquam circumdatis cohortibus alisque impetus in
 legiones pararetur, mox eadem acrius volvens, faciliore inter
 malos consensu ad bellum quam in pace ad concordiam.
 55 Inferioris tamen Germaniae legiones sollemni Kalendarum
 Januariarum sacramento pro Galba adactae, multa cunctatione

CH. LIV. 1 **dextras**] Joined hands made of silver, so ii. 8. 3.

2 **compositi**] Perhaps with a little irony: not that they really were too unhappy to dress tidily, but they assumed the appearance of being so. But we must remember that *squalor* was always the conventional sign of *maestitia*.

principia . . . contubernia] The officers' and soldiers' quarters.

4 **consulerent**] Not quite *i.g.* *sibi consulerent*, but 'unless they took some measures.' If anything is to be supplied, it is *ne foret ut acerrimi*, etc.

per tenebras might mean no more than 'in the darkness,' but when the preposition is coupled with another subst., we see that Tacitus means 'by the opportunity of.'

5 **circumdatis cohortibus alisque**] Probably a fact, not part of the suspicion: the irregulars *were* encamped so as to command the quarters of the legions: it *was thought* that they were meant to attack them.

inter malos serves as a matter of rhythm to balance *in pace*, but in sense must be taken with both branches of the comparison.

CH. LV. 1 **tamen**] In spite of the general disaffection, the officers put the men through the form of swearing allegiance. But, he goes on to say, the form was without heartiness.

multa . . . vocibus] One would have expected *cum*, at least with *multa cunctatione*. *Raris . . . vocibus* might be regarded as an abl. abs., and perhaps serves to cover the similar construction of the other.

et raris primorum ordinum vocibus, ceteri silentio proximi
 cujusque audaciam expectantes, insita mortalibus natura,
 propere sequi quae piget inchoare. Sed ipsis legionibus
 inerat diversitas animorum. Primani quintanique turbidi adeo
 ut quidam saxa in Galbae imagines jecerint: quinta decuma
 ac sexta decuma legiones nihil ultra fremitum et minas ausae
 initium erumpendi circumspectabant. At in superiore exercitu
 quarta ac duoetvicesima legiones, isdem hibernis tendentes,
 ipso Kalendarum Januariarum die dirumpunt imagines Galbae,
 quarta legio promptius, duoetvicesima cunctanter, mox con-
 sensu. Ac ne reverentiam imperii exuere viderentur, senatus
 populique Romani oblitterata jam nomina sacramento advoca-
 bant, nullo legatorum tribunorumve pro Galba nitentē, quibus-
 dam, ut in tumultu, notabilius turbantibus. Non tamen quis
 56 erat adhuc cui inputaretur. Spectator flagitii Hordeonius
 Flaccus consularis legatus aderat, non compescere ruentes,

primorum ordinum] Some at least of the front rank had to speak, or the officer dictating the oath would notice their silence from their faces. But no more even of these spoke than felt his eye upon them.

audaciam] That they should venture to disown allegiance to Galba—perhaps to profess it to Vitellius.

ceteri . . . expectantes may be as fairly called a nom. abs. as anything can, *i.e.* it is in apposition to *legiones* as a part to the whole.

2 Sed] All without being mutinous were on the verge of mutiny, *but* the instinct of discontent predominated in some, that of inaction in others.

3 dirumpunt can only mean 'break in two'—with pickaxes, says Or. M. has *dirrumpunt*, which is more easily explained as a false spelling than by supposing *dir* a *διρρογραφία* from *die*, else the simple

rumpunt would be the more natural verb in this context.

4 imperii] Almost 'the principle of obedience;' an army is not an army unless it be under an *imperium*, which practically implies a personal *imperator*, but is not dependent on his personality.

5 suggestu] It is noticed that Tacitus is rather fond of using the abl. in a local sense without a preposition; here he omits the *ex* or *pro* that most writers would have used, because it would more nearly have balanced the clause *in modum contionis*, which he wishes to vary.

Neque . . . inputaretur] There was no one on whom personal prominence in the mutiny could be held to have conferred personal obligation. It was worth while for Tribune A or Centurion B to secure Vitellius' gratitude, but the senate and people were not able to thank him.

CH. LVI. 1 **ruentes]** Or. seems

non retinere dubios, non cohortari bonos ausus, sed segnis, pavidus et socordia innocens. Quattuor centuriones duo et vicesimae legionis, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, Calpurnius Repentinus, cum protegerent Galbae imagines, impetu militum abrepti vinctique. Nec cuiquam ultra fides aut memoria prioris sacramenti, sed quod in seditionibus accidit, unde plures erant, omnes fuere.

Nocte quae Kalendas Januarias secuta est, in coloniam Agrippinensem aquilifer quartae legionis epulanti Vitellio nuntiat quartam et duo et vicesimam legiones, projectis Galbae imaginibus, in senatus ac populi Romani verba jurasse. Id sacramentum inane visum: occupari nutantem fortunam et offerri principem placuit. Missi a Vitellio ad legiones legatosque qui descivisse a Galba superiorem exercitum nuntiarent: proinde aut bellandum adversus desciscentes, aut, si concordia et pax placeat, faciendum imperatorem; et minore discrimine sumi principem quam quaeri. Proxima legionis primae hiberna erant, et promptissimus e legatis Fabius Valens. Is die proximo coloniam Agrippinensem cum equitibus legionis auxiliariorumque gressus imperatorem Vitellium consalutavit. Secutae ingenti certamine ejusdem provinciae legiones; et superior

rather strangely to take the word as transitive, 'making the disturbance.'

2 **socordia innocens** does not mean that he would have headed the mutiny but for laziness, so much as that he ought to have prevented it, but was excused by his stupidity.

3 **ultra**] 'Any longer'—when they saw those who *were* loyal overpowered.

unde] Exactly = *EX qua parte*.

Nocte . . . epulanti] A characteristic touch—he kept the feast up late.

5 **et minore . . . quaeri**] 'And there was less risk in taking an emperor ready to hand, than in looking further for one.'

CH. LVII. I **Proxima**] At Bonna, iv. 25. I.

2 **gressus**] Not found elsewhere in prose.

imperatorum Vitellium consalutavit] A reminiscence of the Republican sense of the word, though only significant if understood in the monarchical, as Vitellius had gained no victory. But it was still felt that this title must proceed from the army, as that of *princeps* from the senate; so sup. 27. 4, ii. 80. I.

3 **eiusdem**] The same in which the first legion were,—perhaps also the same as that of Vitellius and Fabius themselves.

exercitus, speciosis senatus populique Romani nominibus relictis, tertium Nonas Januarias Vitellio accessit. Scires 4 illum priore biduo non penes rem publicam fuisse. Ardorem exercituum Agrippinenses Treviri Lingones aequabant, auxilia equos arma pecunias offerentes, ut quisque corpore opibus ingenio validus. Nec principes modo coloniarum aut castro- 5 rum, quibus praesentia ex affluenti et partā victoria magnae spes: sed manipuli quoque et gregarius miles viatica sua et balteos phalerasque, insignia armorum argento decora, loco 58 pecuniae tradebant, instinctu et impetu et avaritia. Igitur laudata militum alacritate, Vitellius ministeria principatus, per libertos agi solita, in equites Romanos disponit; vacationes centurionibus ex fisco numerat; saevitiam militum plerosque ad poenam exposcentium saepius adprobat, partim simulatione vinculorum frustratur. Pompeius Propinquus, procurator Belgi- 2 cae, statim interfectus. Julium Burdonem, Germanicae classis praefectum, astu subtraxit. Exarserat in eum iracundia exer- 3 citus, tanquam crimen ac mox insidias Fonteio Capitoni struxisset. Grata erat memoria Capitonis; et apud saevientes 4 occidere palam, ignoscere nonnisi fallendo licebat. Ita in 5 custodia habitus, et post victoriam demum, stratis jam militum odiis, dimissus est. Interim, ut piaculum, obicitur centurio

4 **auxilia . . . arma** would approximately be answered by *corpore*, the former perhaps also by *ingenio*, which must mean 'talents' rather than 'zeal'; then *equos* and *pecunias* would correspond to *opibus*.

5 **praesentia ex affluenti**] 'Whose actual resources were abundant.' *Ex affluenti* may mean merely 'on a plentiful scale,' but perhaps *praesentia* means 'what they had ready to give,' and then the latter words would mean, that these gifts did not exhaust their whole wealth.

instinctu because others urged them, *impetu* from their own blind impulse, *avaritia* from deliberate calculation of their interest.

CH. LVIII. I **ministeria**] What we should call private secretaries. The arrangement did not become permanent till Hadrian; Tacitus evidently disapproves of it. **vacationes**] Sup. 46. 3.

plerosque] Answered rather irregularly by *partim*, so that it has virtually to be taken twice over: 'as the soldiers demanded many for punishment, he in most cases approved of their fury.'

3 **crimen ac mox insidias**] He first got up the charge against him (the belief that it was fictitious was not groundless, sup. 7. 2), and then entrapped him, so as to become liable to the punishment.

Crispinus; sanguine Capitonis *se* cruentaverat; eoque et
 59 postulantibus manifestior et punienti vilior fuit. Julius deinde
 Civilis periculo exemptus, praepotens inter Batavos, ne sup-
 plicio ejus ferox gens alienaretur. Et erant in civitate Lingonum 2
 octo Batavorum cohortes, quartae decimae legionis auxilia,
 tum discordia temporum a legione digressae, prout inclinâssent,
 grande momentum sociae aut adversae. Nonium, Donatium, 3
 Romilium, Calpurnium, centuriones, de quibus supra rettuli-
 mus, occidi jussit, damnatos fidei crimine, gravissimo inter
 desciscentes. Accessere partibus Valerius Asiaticus, Belgicae 4
 provinciae legatus, quem mox Vitellius generum adscivit, et
 Junius Blaesus, Lugdunensis Galliae rector, cum Italica legione
 et ala Taurina, Lugduni tendentibus. Nec in Raeticis copiis 5
 mora, quo minus statim adjungerentur. Ne in Britannia

crimen . . . struere can hardly mean to entrap a man into crime.

CH. LIX. 1 **Julius Civilis]** Almost certainly the same person as the leader of the great revolt next year, iv. 13. 2, etc. But there he is called *Claudius Civilis*,—probably a mere error, whether on the part of Tacitus or of a copyist. As the Gauls did not mostly receive the citizenship till the reign of Claudius, one would expect them generally to bear his Gentile name; in fact we find that of Julius commoner. One may remember that the most distinguished houses among them would be likely to have received individual grants of citizenship, before that to the nation at large. It is scarcely likely that he bore *both* names; if so, it would be more appropriate to think of the arbitrary grouping of names under the lower Empire, than to refer to the Sabellian custom of indicating a man by *two* gentile names—apparently those of his father and mother,—though the name of Roscius Caelius in the next c. seems to show that this custom was not extinct.

2 Explains what made Vitellius

so anxious not to alienate the tribe; they had quarrelled once already with the legion they were attached to, and their friendship or enmity would give great weight to the side into whose scale it was thrown.

4 **Valerius Asiaticus]** Presumably (though we have no direct evidence) a son of Claudius' victim, *Ann.* xi. 1-3. From that passage it appears that the elder Valerius and the elder Vitellius had been friends, and perhaps their families were already connected; whence Vitellius' freedman (ii. 57. 3) very probably got the name. But Vitellius had been the determining agent in Valerius' death; so this marriage represents the reconciliation of a feud.

Junius Blaesus] He was afterwards poisoned by Vitellius' orders, iii. 38 sqq. He must have been very old, if he be the son of Q. Junius Blaesus, who was tribune under his father (*Ann.* i. 19. 4) in A.D. 14; perhaps that was rather his father, who will then be one of the two Blaesi that killed themselves in 36 (*Ann.* vi. 40. 3).

5 **Ne . . . quidem]** Even so

- 60 quidem dubitatum. Praeerat Trebellius Maximus, per avaritiam ac sorde contemptus exercitui invisusque. Accendebat odium ejus Roscius Caelius legatus vicesimae legionis, olim discors, sed occasione civilium armorum atrocius proruperat. Trebellius seditionem et confusum ordinem disciplinae Caelio, 2 spoliatas et inopes legiones Caelius Trebellio objectabat, cum interim foedis legatorum certaminibus modestia exercitus corrupta, eoque discordiae ventum ut auxiliarium quoque militum conviciis proturbatus, et adgregantibus se Caelio cohortibus alisque, desertus Trebellius ad Vitellium perfugerit. Quies provinciae quamquam remoto consulari mansit: rexere legati legionum, pares jure, Caelius audendo potentior.
- 61 Adjuncto Britannico exercitu, ingens viribus opibusque Vitellius duos duces, duo itinera bello destinavit. Fabius Valens allicere, vel, si abnuerent, vastare Gallias, et Cottianis Alpibus Italiam inrumpere, Caecina, propiore transitu, Poeninis jugis degredi jussus. Valenti inferioris exercitus electi, cum 2 aquila quintae legionis et cohortibus alisque, ad quadraginta milia armatorum data; triginta milia Caecina e superiore Germania ducebat, quorum robur legio una, prima et vicesima,

far beyond Vitellius' personal influence, or the terror of the armies of Germany.

CH. LX. 1 *sorde*] See on 52. 2; here one might read either *sordem* or *sordes*.

olim . . . proruperat] He had broken out—not his *discordia*, as one would have expected. But even thus translated, there is a slight want of symmetry in the sentence; *olim* balances *occasione civilium armorum*, we want a relative to balance *discors*.

2, *quoque*] The legionaries being Roman citizens (at least in theory), it was a degree less scandalous for them to presume to criticise a Roman commander.

3 *potentior*] Apparently then there were only two *legati*, though from iii. 22. 2, we should have understood that there were three legions, the ninth and second as well as the twentieth.

CH. LXI. 2 *cum aquila*] Implying the main body, but apparently not the whole; for we find the fifth and fifteenth (iv. 35. 4) acting in Germany; apparently before the battle of Cremona, in which these men (iii. 22. 2) took part, or at any rate too soon after it for them to have returned.

prima et vicesima] Tacitus usually writes *una et vic.*, which here of course was inadmissible on euphonic grounds.

fuit. Addita utrique Germanorum auxilia, e quibus Vitellius
 62 suas quoque copias supplevit, tota mole belli secuturus. Mira
 inter exercitum imperatoremque diversitas. Instare miles,
 arma poscere, dum Galliae trepident, dum Hispaniae cunc-
 tentur. Non obstare hiemem neque ignavae pacis morās. 2
 Invadendam Italiam, occupandam urbem. Nihil in discordiis
 civilibus festinatione tutius, ubi facto magis quam consulto
 opus esset. Torpebat Vitellius, et fortunam principatus inerti 3
 luxu ac prodigis epulis praesumebat, medio diei temulentus et
 sagina gravis, cum tamen ardor et vis militum ultro ducis
 munia implebat, ut si adesset imperator et strenuis vel ignavis
 spem metumque adderet. Instructi intentique signum profec- 4
 tionis exposcunt. Nomen *Germanici* Vitellio statim additum :
 Caesarem se appellari etiam victor prohibuit. Laetum augurium 5
 Fabio Valenti exercituique, quem in bellum agebat, ipso pro-
 fectionis die aquila leni meatu, prout agmen incederet, velut

3 **tota mole belli**] Sometimes taken, 'with all the war *matériel*,' but this makes the omission of *cum* even harsher than it must be any way: cf. 55. 1. Better therefore, 'with his whole military force,' not quite *i.q. viribus*, because insisting on the mass more than the active energy.

CH. LXII. 1 **trepident . . . cunctentur**] The soldiers *said*: 'Let us fight while Gaul is in a quiver and Spain at a stay,' so that the conjunctive is like Hor. *Od.* iii. 3. 37 sqq.

medio diei] The commoner *medio die* would mean only 'at mid-day' when it was most disgraceful; the partitive genitive adds the further force, 'when the day was only half over,' so that you can imagine what he was like by night. Compare iii. 11. 1, and *medio temporis* in *Ann.* xiii. 28. 3.

3 **ducis . . . imperator**] There used as synonymous: contrast iii. 37. 1. **strenuis vel ignavis spem metumque**] Cf. I. 2, *inter infensos*

vel obnoxios; instead of 'hope to the active, and fear to the indolent,' Tacitus chooses to say, 'hope and fear to *them*, as they were active *or* indolent.'

4 **Caesarem . . . prohibuit**] See ii. 62. 3, iii. 58. 6, also above, the note on 5. 1. Perhaps the accident of 55. 4 suggested to Vitellius the rôle of a champion of the constitution; if so, this refusal of the dynastic title will be an instance of the same pseudo-republicanism as ii. 91. 5. For the title *Germanicus*, as originally bestowed on Drusus and his sons, of course there were plenty of Republican precedents. Claudius' title *Britannicus* served to soften the sense of caricature in its present application.

5 **Laetum augurium**] In apposition to the sentence, not to *aquila* only. For a similar incident, see *Ann.* ii. 17. 2.

meatu] Apparently always of regular and equable motion, *e.g.* of the heavenly bodies.

dux viae praevolavit; longumque per spatium is gaudentium militum clamor, ea quies interritae alitis fuit, ut haud dubium
 63 magnae et prosperae rei omen acciperetur. Et Treviros quidem, ut socios, securi adiere. Divoduri (Mediomatricorum id oppidum est,) quamquam omni comitate exceptos subitus pavor terruit, raptis derepente armis ad caedem innoxiae civitatis, non ob praedam aut spoliandi cupidinem, sed furore et rabie et causis incertis, eoque difficilioribus remediis, donec precibus ducis mitigati ab excidio civitatis temperavere. Caesa 2 tamen ad quattuor milia hominum. Isque terror Galliās invasit, ut venienti mox agmini universae civitates cum magistratibus et precibus occurrerent, stratis per vias feminis puerisque, quaeque alia placamenta hostilis irae, non quidem in bello
 64 sed pro pace, tendebantur. Nuntium de caede Galbae et imperio Othonis Fabius Valens in civitate Leucorum accepit. Nec militum animus in gaudium aut formidine permotus: 2 bellum volvebat. Gallis cunctatio exempta, et in Othonem ac Vitellium odium par, ex Vitellio et metus. Proxima Lingo- 3 num civitas erat, fida partibus. Benigne excepti modestia

spatium] Doubtless in its proper local sense.

is . . . clamor, ea quies . . . ut] Two causes contributed to the belief that the incident was supernatural: first, that the men took it as such, and shouted for joy; then (what was really remarkable) that their shouting did not frighten the bird away.

CH. LXIII. 1 Divoduri Mediomatricorum] It would almost seem as if even then the name of the tribe were more familiar than that of the town; which would account for the often noted fact, that in modern France the former has generally (as in this case) supplanted the latter.

2 mox] From that time onward.

tendebantur] He passes to the indicative, as he describes not the instinctive demonstrations of blind terror, but pacificatory measures deliberately adopted.

CH. LXIV. 2 in gaudium aut formidine] Such almost meaningless changes of construction seem to be characteristic of Tacitus, and therefore are to be retained when found in MSS.; but here as in 60. 1, we must remember that the question is practically of the insertion, not of a letter, but of a diacritic mark; see on 52. 2.

Gallis . . . exempta] They would if they dared have been loyal to Galba, 8. 3.

3 partibus] As usual, the *revolutionary* side.

certavere. Sed brevis laetitia fuit cohortium intemperie, quas a legione quarta decima, ut supra memoravimus, digressas exercitui suo Fabius Valens adjunxerat. Jurgia primum, mox 4 rixa inter Batavos et legionarios, dum his aut illis studia militum adgregantur, prope in praelium exarsere, ni Valens animadversione paucorum oblitos jam Batavos imperii admonuisset. Frustra adversus Aeduos quaesita belli causa: jussi 5 pecuniam atque arma deferre, gratuitos insuper commeatus praebuere. Quod Aedui formidine, Lugdunenses gaudio 6 fecere. Sed legio Italica et ala Taurina abductae: cohortem duodevicesimam Lugduni, solitis sibi hibernis, relinqui placuit. Manlius Valens legatus Italicae legionis, quamquam bene de 7 partibus meritis, nullo apud Vitellium honore fuit. Secretis 8 eum criminationibus infamaverat Fabius ignarum et, quo incautior deciperetur, palam laudatum.

65 Veterem inter Lugdunenses et Viennenses discordiam proximum bellum accenderat. Multae in vicem clades, crebrius infestiusque quam ut tantum propter Neronem Galbamque pugnaretur. Et Galba reditus Lugdunensium occasione irae 2 in fiscum verterat; multus contra in Viennenses honor. Unde aemulatio et invidia et uno amne discretis connexum 3

supra] 59. 2.

4 oblitos jam Batavos imperii might most simply be taken, 'who were beginning to forget that they were under military discipline.' But it is a question whether Tacitus does not intend a sort of tragic irony, 'who *already* showed that they had forgotten the authority of Rome' which a few months later they defied.

5 gratuitos] Without constraint, as well as without payment.

8 Fabius] Elsewhere if he is designated by one name it is Valens, but here of course it is desired to contrast him with Manlius.

CH. LXV. 1 proximum bellum] That with Vindex.

crebrius . . . pugnaretur] 'Too frequently and fiercely for the cause of Galba or Nero to have been their only motive for fighting,' or perhaps rather 'in fighting.' One may notice that this passage ill harmonizes with the common story, that Vindex's overthrow was due only to an almost accidental collision between his forces and those of Verginius.

2 occasione] Almost 'on the opportune pretext:' he was glad of any fair excuse for raising money.

3 discretis connexum] A sort of oxymoron: hatred served to bridge the river—to unite those, between whom the division was so narrow, in the bonds of a common enmity.

odium. Igitur Lugdunenses exstimulare singulos militum et in eversionem Viennensium impellere, obsessam ab illis coloniam suam, adjutos Vindicis conatus, conscriptas nuper legiones in praesidium Galbae referendo. Et ubi causas 4 odiorum praetenderant, magnitudinem praedae ostendebant. Nec jam secreta exhortatio, sed publicae preces: irent ultores, excinderent sedem Gallici belli. Cuncta illic ex- 5 terna et hostilia: se coloniam Romanam et partem exercitus et prosperarum adversarumque rerum socios. Si fortuna 66 contra daret, iratis ne relinquerentur. His et pluribus in eundem modum perpulerant ut ne legati quidem ac duces partium restingui posse iracundiam exercitus arbitrarentur, cum haud ignari discriminis sui Viennenses, velamenta et infulas praeferentes, ubi agmen incesserat, arma,² genua, vestigia prensando flexere militum animos. Addidit Valens 2 trecenos singulis militibus sestertios. Tum vetustas dignitasque coloniae valuit, et verba Fabii salutem incolumitatemque Viennensium commendantis aequis auribus accepta. Publice 3 tamen armis multati, privatis et promiscuis copiis juvere militem. Sed fama constans fuit ipsum Valentem magna 4 pecuniā emptum. Is diu sordidus, repente dives mutationem fortunae male tegebat, accensis egestate longa cupidinibus

4 **Nec jam]** Both the grounds for the *exhortatio* were too discreditable to be made public, for loyalty to Galba could hardly be called treason even against Vitellius, any more than plunder avowed as a motive for war. But when real and definite motives had been suggested, vague generalities might act as reminders of them, when enforced with all public circumstance.

5 **Cuncta . . . Romanam]** Yet in the next c. we read that Vienna was also a Roman colony. Probably the sentiment is merely given as that of the Lugdunese, with-

out any justification for it existing. They say, 'We *are* Roman colonists; they, though called so, are rather foreigners and enemies.' But there may be an allusion to Vienna being the old capital of the Allobroges.

CH. LXVI. 1 **vestigia]** A somewhat more humble or more forcible form of the same action as is implied in *genua*, holding their feet so that they could not take a step. Compare *Ann.* i. 13. 9.

2 **tum** perhaps balances the *nec jam* of 65. 4; money was the turning-point, for or against.

4 **sordidus** must be meant of

inmoderatus, et inopi juventa senex prodigus. Lento deinde 5
 agmine per fines Allobrogum ac Vocontiorum ductus ex-
 exercitus, ipsa itinerum spatia et stativorum mutationes vendi-
 tante duce, foedis pactionibus adversus possessores agrorum
 et magistratus civitatum, adeo minaciter ut Luco (municipium
 id Vocontiorum est,) faces admoverit, donec pecunia mitiga-
 retur. Quoties pecuniae materia deesset, stupris et adulteriis 6
 exorabatur. Sic ad Alpes perventum.

- 67 Plus praedae ac sanguinis Caecina hausit. Inritaverant
 turbidum ingenium Helvetii, Gallica gens, olim armis virisque,
 mox memoria nominis clara, de caede Galbae ignari et
 Vitellii inperium abnuentes. Initium bello fuit avaritia ac 2
 festinatio unetvicesimae legionis. Rapuerant pecuniam
 missam in stipendium castelli, quod olim Helvetii suis mili-
 tibus ac stipendiis tuebantur. Aegre id passi Helvetii, inter- 3
 ceptis epistolis quae nomine Germanici exercitus ad Pannonicas
 legiones ferebantur, centurionem et quosdam militum in
 custodia retinebant. Caecina belli avidus proximam quamque 4

his circumstances, not his character, which does not appear to have been improved by his wealth.

5 *ipsa . . . venditante*] He let it be known how long he meant each day's march to be, and then altered his plans for money; he further altered for money the distribution of the permanent garrisons of the country.

6 *pecuniae materia*] Not 'an occasion for making money,' but 'wealth for him to make money out of.'

CH. LXVII. 1 *olim . . . clara*] He is thinking of the conquering migration repelled by Caesar, in the first year of his command in Gaul.

de caede Galbae ignari accounts for *Vitellii inperium abnuentes*; as in 64. 2 they would not have risked anything for Otho.

2 *Rapuerant*] Their distinctive title was *Rapax*, which perhaps Tacitus is playing on. The act was plainly before Caecina's approach.

olim . . . stipendiis] They used to pay the garrison while it consisted of their own countrymen: now troops in Roman pay were sent there. But the legionaries seized the money belonging to the garrison, and told the latter they might make the Helvetii pay as they used.

3 *proximam quamque*] 'The first that offered itself.' *Quisque*, being rather a distributive pronoun than an indefinite, almost always has a word joined with it to indicate the principle of selection or rule of distribution, and the use with the superlative is only one branch of this.

culpam, antequam paeniteret, ultum ibat. Mota propere castra, vastati agri, direptus longa pace in modum municipiū exstructus locus, amoeno salubrium aquarum usu frequens. Missi ad Raetica auxilia nuntii, ut versos in iegionem 5
 68 Helvetios a tergo adgrederentur. Illi ante discrimen feroces, in periculo pavidī, quamquam primo tumultu Claudium Severum ducem legerant, non arma noscere, non ordines sequi, non in unum consulere. Exitiosum adversus veteranos 2
 proelium, intuta obsidio dilapsis vetustate moenibus. Hinc Caecina cum valido exercitu, inde Raeticae alae cohortesque et ipsorum Raetorum juvenus, sueta armis et more militiae exercita. Undique populatio et caedes. Ipsi in medio vagi, abjectis armis, magna pars saucii. aut palantes, in montem Vocetium perfugere. Ac statim inmissa cohorte Thracum 4
 depulsi, et, consecrantibus Germanis Raetisque, per silvas atque in ipsis latebris trucidati. Multa hominum milia caesa, 5

4 **antequam paeniteret**] The subj. because it was his conscious object, 'without allowing them time to repent.'

locus . . . frequens] It was called *Vicus Aquensis*, now the Swiss Baden. *Usu* seems determined by the epithet *amoeno* to mean *frequenting* the place rather than *using* the waters: it was in fact a 'watering-place' in our sense, recommended by fashion quite as much as by sanitary considerations, and perhaps more by the pretty scenery than modern romanticists generally allow.

5 **Raetica**] They were natural enemies to the Helvetii, as being both near neighbours and totally different in race and language. We may certainly take Caesar's and Tacitus' word for these being Gauls, and probably Livy's (v. 33 fin.) for those being akin to the Etruscans.

CH. LXVIII. 1 **tumultu**] 'Alarm' is perhaps the nearest

English word: it is a technical designation for a war at the gates. The *locus classicus* for this use is Cic. *Phil.* viii. 1. 2, 3; see also the commentators on *Aen.* viii. 4.

non arma noscere] 'Failed to recognise the arms' to which they were appointed; though not utterly ignorant of soldiery, they had not the special training required for each 'arm' of the service, and did not fall into their places in a military organization.

2 **proelium . . . obsidio**] Tacitus seems to intimate that first one and then the other actually took place.

ipsorum R. juvenus] The Raetians as a nation turning out to arms—not only the enrolled contingent who constituted the *alae cohortesque*.

4 **Germanis**] Auxiliaries attached to the *legiones Germanicae*, and apparently organized very much like legionaries, as in 70. 3 we hear of their being constituted into a *vexillum*, as well as ordinary *cohortes*.

multa sub corona venumdata. Cumque dirutis omnibus Aventicum gentis caput justo agmine peteretur, missi qui dederent civitatem; et deditio accepta. In Julium Alpinum 6 e principibus, ut concitorem belli, Caecina animadvertit: 69 ceteros veniae vel saevitiae Vitellii reliquit. Haud facile dictu est, legati Helvetiorum minus placabilem imperatorem an militem invenerint. Civitatis excidium poscunt, tela ac 2 manūs in ora legatorum intentant. Ne Vitellius quidem minis ac verbis temperabat, cum Claudius Cossus, unus ex legatis, notae facundiae, sed dicendi artem apta trepidatione occultans atque eo validior, militis animum mitigavit, ut est mos vulgō, mutabilem subitis et tam primum in misericordiam quam immodicus saevitia fuerat. Effusis lacrimis, et meliora 3 constantius postulando, impunitatem salutemque civitati im-

5, 6] It appears there really was a *Dea Aventica* of the town Aventicum (the modern Avenches)—from which facts, combined with those of the text, Wilhelm constructed his forgery of the pretty inscription celebrated by Byron (*Childe Harold*, iii. 66, n 16). He imagined a daughter of this Alpinus interceding to Caecina for his life: Byron, in ignorance of the real story, imagined a fictitious one, as with Bonnivard, while Simpkinson supplied a poetical treatment of the real one. But the spuriousness of the inscription is beyond question.

CH. LXIX. 1] Here commences a lacuna in M., reaching to 75. 4; for the intervening chapters we are dependent on copies of M. made before its mutilation, which in other parts of it are of no practical value.

2 **Claudius**] One MS. has *Cornelius*, but the collocation of the names *Cornelius Cossus* might occur to a transcriber from his reading; while we have no instance (at least as early as this) of a patrician *cognomen* being assumed by one of the

new citizens affiliated to a patrician house. It is credible enough that one of the innumerable Claudii of Gaul (59. 1) should have taken a name from early Roman history; on the other hand, it was not rare for noble families to sink out of view under Augustus or Tiberius, their representatives retiring or being expelled from the Senate; so he may have been a real patrician Cossus after all, a son or grandson of one so attainted.

eo validior] One might illustrate from the story told of Lord Ashley's speech on trials for treason (Macaulay, c. 21).

immodicus . . . fuerat] The MSS. have *immodicum*, which some would retain, omitting *fuerat*. But the insertion of the plup. is more like Tacitus than a copyist; the tense is determined rather by its fitness to the special case of this army than to the general principle *ut est mos vulgo*.

impunitatem salutemque] Rather an anticlimax, 'that the city should neither be punished nor destroyed.'

70 petravere. Caecina paucos in Helvetiis moratus dies, dum sententiae Vitellii certior fieret, simul transitum Alpium parans, laetum ex Italia nuntium accipit, alam Silianam circa Padum agentem sacramento Vitellii accessisse. Proconsulem² Vitellium Siliani in Africa habuerant; mox a Nerone, ut in Aegyptum praemitterentur, exciti, et ob bellum Vindicis revocati, ac tum in Italia manentes, instinctu decurionum, qui Othonis ignari, Vitellio obstricti robur adventantium legionum et famam Germanici exercitus attollebant, transiere in partes, et ut donum aliquod novo principi, firmissima Transpadanae regionis municipia: Mediolanum ac Novariam et Eporediam ac Vercellas adjungere. Id Caecinae per ipsos compertum. Et quia praesidio alae unius latissima Italiae pars defendi³ nequibat, praemissis Gallorum Lusitanorum Britannorumque cohortibus et Germanorum vexillis cum ala Petrina, ipse paululum cunctatus num Raeticis jugis in Noricum flecteret adversus Petronium turbi (*Urbicum*?) procuratorem, qui concitis auxiliis et interruptis fluminum pontibus fidus Othoni putabatur. Sed metu ne amitteret praemissas jam cohortes⁴ alasque, simul reputans plus gloriae retenta Italia, et ubi-

CH. LXX. *Silianam*] So M. at ii. 17. 1; here some MSS. have *Silanam* and most *Sullanam*. It had probably been enrolled by C. Silius, legate of Upper Germany under Tiberius (father of the bigamous husband of Messallina). Their connexion with that province accounts for *famam Germanici exercitus attollebant*, as *Proconsulem V. in Africa habuerant* does for *Vitellio obstricti*.

3 *per ipsos*] He received the news before crossing the Alps that they meant to join him, but it was not till he actually reached them that he found that they brought over these towns with them.

Gallorum . . . vexillis] All auxiliary troops, the legion being implied in *ipse*, but see on 68. 4.

ala Petrina] Again the name is corrupt in the MSS., and the text is restored almost with certainty from iv. 49. 3. Perhaps the name is derived from a member of the equestrian family of Petra, *Ann.* xi. 4. 1.

Urbicum] The MSS. have *urbi* or *urbis*, but the word must be a disguise either for the name of his province (if so, *Norici* is suggested), or his own *cognomen*, and the surname Urbicus is found (not however in the *Petronia gens*) in *Ann.* xi. 35. 6. Petronius *Turpilianus* (a name which some think of as not very unlike) had been put to death, sup. 6. 2, but of course this may have been a relation and namesake.

4 *retenta*] He was afraid that Italy, if not occupied in force, would

cunque certatum foret, Noricos in cetera victoriae praemia cessuros, Poenino itinere subsignanum militum et grave legionum agmen hibernis adhuc Alpius traduxit.

71 Otho interim, contra spem omnium, non deliciis neque desidia torpescere. Dilatae voluptates, dissimulata luxuria, et cuncta ad decorem imperii composita. Eoque plus formidinis 2 afferebant falsae virtutes et vitia reditura. Marius Celsum 3 consulem designatum, per speciem vinculorum saevitiae militum subtractum, acciri in Capitolium jubet. Clementiae 4 titulus e viro claro et partibus invisio petebatur. Celsus constanter servatae erga Galbam fidei crimen confessus, exemplum ultro imputavit. Nec Otho quasi ignosceret, sed †ne hostes 5 metueret conciliationis adhibens,† statim inter intimos amicos

appear to have been seized and lost again.

subsignanum militum] According to Or., no more than a hendiadys with *grave* . . . *agmen*, according to C. and B., synonymous with *vexillarii*.

legionum] But Caecina had only one legion, the 21st, 61. 2. Or. supposes that he may have had detachments from others, which that passage does not exclude; but whether or no, it is perhaps the best explanation of the plural that it is used vaguely, almost as *i.g. legionariorum*.

CH. LXXI. 1 **dissimulata luxuria**] Not that he *indulged* in luxury, but concealed the fact; he concealed (by not indulging) his *taste* for luxury. The word is similarly used of the inclination rather than the habit in Juv. xv. 45.

composita, like the colloquial English 'made up,' suggests that it was hypocritical; but one can scarcely translate it by a more definite word than 'arranged.'

3 **subtractum**] Sup. 45. 5; cf. 58. 1, 2.

4 **Clementiae** . . . **petebatur**]

It was his object to gain a conspicuous credit for clemency, in the case of a conspicuous and recognised opponent.

exemplum ultro imputavit] (Did not stop with the confession, but) 'went on to claim as a merit the having set the fashion of fidelity.'

5] Two MSS. read as Or., and the most conservative course possible is either to read *conciliationes* or to understand *-nis* as an accusative termination. Other MSS. have *ne hostis metum reconciliationis adhiberet*, which, as it stands, can only mean (if anything), 'lest the enemy (Vitellius) should occasion to him (Otho) fear of his (Celsus)' being reconciled to him (Vitellius).' But when had Celsus and Vitellius quarrelled? C. and B. adopt this reading, with the single change of *reconciliationi* for *-nis*, and translate, 'unwilling to blend with the grace of reconciliation the memory of past hostility,' the last four words being a paraphrase of *hostis metum*. Others would translate the same text, 'lest he should bring into his reconciliation the fear that he was still an enemy,' or reading *hosti* . . .

habuit, et mox bello inter duces delegit. Mansitque Celso, 6
 velut fataliter, etiam pro Othone fides integra et infelix.
 Laeta primoribus civitatis, celebrata in volgus Celsi salus ne 7
 militibus quidem ingrata fuit, eandem virtutem admirantibus
 72 cui irascebantur. Par inde exsultatio disparibus causis con-
 secuta, impetrato Tigellini exitio. Sophonius Tigellinus, 2
 obscuris parentibus, foeda pueritia, impudica senecta, prae-
 fecturam vigilum et praetorii et alia praemia virtutum quia
 velocius erat vitiis adeptus, crudelitatem mox, deinde avari-
 tiam et virilia scelera exercuit, corrupto ad omne facinus
 Nerone, quaedam ignaro ausus, ac postremo ejusdem de-
 sertor ac proditor. Unde non alium pertinacius ad poenam 3
 flagitavere, diverso affectu, quibus odium Neronis inerat et
 quibus desiderium. Apud Galbam Titi Vinii potentia de- 4
 fensus, praetextentis servatam ab eo filiam. Et haud dubie
 servaverat, non clementia, quippe tot interfectis, sed effugium

reconciliationis, translate 'make the enemy afraid [to trust the sincerity] of his overtures' (the overtures of c. 74).

One thing seems certain, that if *hostis* be right, it must mean Vitellius, not Celsus. Though properly a foreign enemy, it can be used of a rebel in arms against the state (see 84. 8), but not of a partisan hostile, within the limits of patriotism, to a *de facto* sovereign. For the rest, we have two possible meanings for the sentence as a whole: 'Otho did not sincerely pardon him, but spared him as a measure for his own security,' or 'Otho took the tone, not of one pardoning a criminal, but conciliating an honourable opponent'; the former view seems supported by the parallel passage of Plutarch, the latter by that of Dio. The reading must be determined according to which of these seems intrinsically the likeliest; with that of the text, we must

translate, 'Otho, not as though pardoning him, but employing *conciliatory measures* to prevent his *having need* to fear the enemy,' which is harsh, no doubt, but not quite impossible Latin.

bello] Probably dative.

6 integra et infelix] Tacitus is fond of using the simple *et* thus, with a special, often ironical, force; e.g. inf. 76. 2, ii. 49. 8.

CH. LXXII. **2 quia velocius erat** might mean that Tigellinus chose the path of vice deliberately, as the shortest way to honour; but it seems to harmonize better with Tacitus' view of his character to say, 'he *succeeded* in his ambition, because vice was the shortest way to success.'

virilia scelera] Having gained his position by the vices of a woman, he hoped to retain it by the vices of a man.

4 non clementia . . . sed effugium] Cf. sup. 44. 3.

in futurum, quia pessimus quisque, diffidentia praesentium mutationem pavens, adversus publicum odium privatam gratiam praeparat; unde nulla innocentiae cura, sed vices impunitatis. Eo infensior populus, addita ad vetus Tigellini 5 odium recenti Titi Vinii invidia, concurrere e tota urbe in Palatium ac fora, et ubi plurima volgi licentia, in circum ac theatra effusi seditionis vocibus obstrepere; donec Tigellinus, accepto apud Sinuessanas aquas supremæ necessitatis nuntio, inter stupra concubinarum et oscula et deformes moras, sectis novacula faucibus, infamem vitam foedavit etiam exitu sero 73 et inhonesto. Per idem tempus expostulata ad supplicium Galvia Crispinilla variis frustrationibus et, adversa dissimulantis principis fama, periculo exempta est. Magistra libidinum 2 Neronis, transgressa in Africam ad instigandum in

nulla . . . impunitatis] They do not take the precaution of abstaining from crimes, but leave the crimes of others unpunished, that these in turn may leave their own.

5 odium . . . invidia] The former is the more definite and active feeling; it also perhaps implies more positively ill deeds of its object as its foundation.

seditionis] It would be tempting to read *seditionis*.

Sinuessanas aquas] He had, no doubt, gone there for the baths, which, as at Baiae, would attract a miscellaneous and dissolute society. But, according to Plutarch, he attempted to escape by sea, which it seems strange to us that scarcely any victims of the *suprema necessitas* (sup. 3. 1.) thought of doing.

deformes moras] According to Plutarch, he offered bribes to the messenger; the bribe being rejected, then offered it as a present; then (like Landor's dying Frenchman) asked to be allowed to shave, and used the opportunity to cut his throat with the razor.

foedavit . . . inhonesto] Tacitus probably accepts the same account as Plutarch, though he gives fewer details; but he thinks it improper to have made any effort at all for life, and perhaps applies to his mode of death a conventional standard of propriety: to cut your own throat was disgusting; a gentleman should bleed to death, or perhaps starve, if there was no hurry. See the note on c. 3. 1, also Merivale, *Romans under the Empire*, vol. v. c. 46, for illustrations of the sentiments determining the etiquette in these matters of honour. Plutarch gives, and probably meant to give, the impression that Tigellinus 'did it after the high Roman fashion,' as well as the more gentlemanly profligates Asiaticus, Petronius, and Otho.

CH. LXXIII. 1 **dissimulantis]** Probably 'disguising his purpose towards her.'

2 **Magistra libidinum Neronis]** 'She had instructed Nero in profligacy,' C. and B.; rather had

arma Clodium Macrum, famem populo Romano haud obscure mōlita, totius postea civitatis gratiam obtinuit, consulari matrimonio subnixa et apud Galbam Othonem Vitellium illaesa, mox potens pecuniā et orbitate, quae bonis malisque temporibus juxta valent.

- 74 Crebrae interim, et muliebribus blandimentis infectae, ab Othone ad Vitellium epistolae offerebant pecuniam et gratiam et quemcunque quietis locum prodigae vitae legisset. Paria 2 Vitellius ostentabat, primo mollius, stulta utrinque et indecora simulatione: mox, quasi rixantes, stupra et flagitia in vicem objectavere, neuter falso. Otho, revocatis quos Galba 3 miserat legatis, rursus alios ad utrumque Germanicum exercitum et ad legionem Italicam easque quae Lugduni agebant copias specie senatus misit. Legati apud Vitellium 4 remansere, promptius quam ut retenti viderentur. Praetoriani, quos per simulationem officii legatis Otho adjunxerat, remissi antequam legionibus miscerentur. Addidit epistolas Fabius 5

managed and arranged the requirements of his profligate taste. The title is a less euphemistic feminine for that of Petronius, *arbiter elegantiarum*. It does *not* mean that she was Nero's 'mistress.'

Clodium Macrum] Sup. 7. i.

bonis . . . temporibus] Under Vespasian, for she can hardly have lived to the times of Nerva or Trajan.

CH. LXXIV. 1] According to Suetonius and Dio, he even offered him a share in the empire, and—what may more easily be believed—proposed to marry his daughter; he was still *caelebs* (13. 5), and she can hardly yet have married Asiaticus (59. 4).

2 neuter falso] The stories against Vitellius were however old; he was by this time past giving scandal, however contemptible, ii. 31. i.

3 quos Galba miserat] Sup. 19. 4–6.

specie] More ironical than *nomine*, 'under colour of being the Senate's delegates,' not Otho's personally. The point is, that Vitellius is called on to submit, not to Otho, a rival claimant of sovereignty on equal terms with himself, but to the Senate, whose unquestioned right it was to exercise, or at least to assign, the sovereignty.

4 per simulationem officii] 'Under pretence of compliment,' really to prevent their deserting as they actually did. They pretended not to be able to trust their escort, if admitted to intercourse with the enemy's troops; really the escort was, as Otho knew, more trustworthy than they.

remissi] Probably by Vitellius, not by the legates.

Valens, nomine Germanici exercitus, ad praetorias et urbanas cohortes, de viribus partium magnificas et concordiam offerentes. Increpabat ultro quod tanto ante traditum ⁶
 75 Vitellio imperium ad Othonem vertissent. Ita promissis simul ac minis tentabantur, ut bello impares, in pace nihil amissuri. Neque ideo praetorianorum fides mutata. Sed insidiatores ab ²
 Othone in Germaniam, a Vitellio in urbem missi. Utrisque frustra fuit, Vitellianis impune, per tantam hominum multitudinem mutua ignorantia fallentibus : Othoniani novitate voltus, omnibus in vicem gnaris, prodebantur. Vitellius literas ad ³
 Titianum fratrem Othonis composuit, exitium ipsi filioque ejus minitans, ni incolumes sibi mater ac liberi servarentur. Et stetit domus utraque, sub Othone incertum an metu : ⁴
 76 Vitellius victor clementiae gloriam tulit. Primus Othoni fiduciam addidit ex Illyrico nuntius, jurasse in eum Dalmatiae ac Pannoniae et Moesiae legiones. Idem ex Hispania ad- ²
 latum, laudatusque per edictum Cluvius Rufus : et statim cognitum est conversam ad Vitellium Hispaniam. Ne Aqu- ³
 tania quidem, quamquam ab Julio Cordo in verba Othonis obstricta, diu mansit. Nusquam fides aut amor : metu ac ⁴
 necessitate huc illuc mutabantur. Eadem formido provinciam Narbonensem ad Vitellium vertit, facili transitu ad proximos et validiores. Longinquae provinciae, et quicquid armorum ⁵
 mari dirimitur, penes Othonem manebant, non partium studio ;

5 praetorias et urbanas cohortes] See *Ann.* iv. 5. 4.

6 tanto ante] About a fortnight, comparing c. 57 with 27.

CH. LXXV. i Ita . . . ut . . .] 'The combination of promises and threats used to tempt them rested on the assumption that they were unequal to war, while it was promised that they should lose nothing by peace.'

2 gnaris] The MSS. have *ignaris*; the correction seems necessary, as otherwise it would be a mere repetition of *mutua ignorantia*, and

opposite effects be ascribed to the same cause.

4 incertum an implies not indeed that it was likely, but it was at any rate the received hypothesis.

CH. LXXVI. i Dalmatiae . . . legiones] They at least were sincere in their attachment to him, ii. 85 sq.

4 mutabantur] 'They changed sides,' a middle rather than passive.

facili . . . validiores] Probably a general sentiment, 'since it is easy to go over to one's next neighbour's side, when it is also the

sed erat grande momentum in nomine urbis ac praetexto senatus, et occupaverat animos prior auditus. Judaicum exercitum Vespasianus, Suriae legiones Mucianus sacramento Othonis adegere. Simul Aegyptus omnesque versae in 7 Orientem provinciae nomine ejus tenebantur. Idem Africae obsequium, initio Karthagine orto. Neque exspectata Vip- 8 stani Aproniani proconsulis auctoritate, Crescens Neronis libertus (nam et hi malis temporibus partem se rei publicae faciunt,) epulum plebi, ob laetitiam recentis imperii, obtulerat, et populus pleraque sine modo festinavit. Karthaginem 9 ceterae civitates secutae.

- 77 Sic distractis exercitibus ac provinciis, Vitellio quidem ad capessendam principatus fortunam bello opus erat; Otho ut in multa pace munia imperii obibat, quaedam ex dignitate rei publicae, pleraque contra decus ex praesenti usu pro-
perando. Consul cum Titiano fratre in Kalendas Martias 2 ipse; proximos menses Verginio destinat ut aliquod exercitui Germanico delenimentum. Jungitur Verginio Pompeius 3 Vopiscus praetexto veteris amicitiae; plerique Viennensium

stronger.' *Proximos* must mean Gaul and Spain, not the Vitellian party generally, or it would have to be comparative, like *validiores*.

5 *praetexto*] We had *praetextu* in much the same sense in 19. 5; for here, and in iii. 80. 2, the sense seems to be 'under the fair show,' rather than 'under the feigned show.' But the neuter form is in these passages presented by M., and is also used by Seneca.

prior auditus] 'The (candidate) first heard of;' a participle, not a verbal substantive.

8 *nam et hi . . . faciunt*] Contrast above 4. 3, and the note there. Tacitus saw that the freedmen formed as respectable a class as any of the 'passive citizens,' but objected to any of them 'making themselves an element in the state,

i.e. competing with the recognised governing order.

pleraque] Most of the customary rejoicings at an accession were celebrated spontaneously; those that cost money were provided at Crescens' expense; then Apronianus and the government found themselves committed to a side, and did not care to change it.

CH. LXXVII. 1 *distractis*] In the most literal sense, 'drawn to one or other of the opposite sides.' After *exercitibus* there are traces of a short word lost; Or. suggests P. R.

2 *menses*] Julius Caesar had introduced this custom of appointing pairs of consuls or less than a twelvemonth; see iii. 37 fin.

3 *Viennensium*] Who might else be irritated by a compliment to

honori datum interpretabantur. Ceteri consulatus ex destina- 4
 tione Neronis aut Galbae mansere, Caelio ac Flavio Sabinis in
 Julias, Arrio Antonino et Mario Celso in Septembres; quorum
 honori ne Vitellius quidem victor intercessit. Sed Otho ponti- 5
 ficatus auguratusque honoratis jam senibus cumulum dignitatis
 addidit; aut recens ab exsilio reversos nobiles adulescentulos
 avitis ac paternis sacerdotiis in solatium recoluit. Redditus 6
 Cadio Rufo, Pedio Blaeso, Saevino Pomptinio senatorius locus.
 Repetundarum criminibus sub Claudio ac Nerone ceciderant:
 placuit ignoscentibus verso nomine, quod avaritia fuerat, videri
 78 majestatem, cuius tum odio etiam bonae leges peribant. Eadem
 largitione civitatum quoque ac provinciarum animos adgressus,
 Hispaliensibus et Emeritensibus familiarum adjectiones, Lingo-
 nibus universis civitatem Romanam, provinciae Baeticae
 Maurorum civitates dono dedit; nova jura Cappadociae, nova

their conqueror; in c. 65 we heard of their activity on the side of Vindex.

4 **Flavio Sabinis**] Apparently not the brother of Vespasian; for in ii. 36. 4, this man seems accounted for away from Rome, where we hear of the other in ii. 55. 2. The P. Sabinus of iii. 36. 4 is again doubtless different from any of these.

Arrio Antonino] Maternal grandfather of Antoninus Pius.

Julias . . . Septembres] The sense makes it clear that we are to supply *Kalendas*, though we have to look as far back as § 2 for the word.

5 **sed**] Tac. has hardly yet left the subject of what was done *ex dignitate reip.*: the only contrast is, between Otho's leaving the consulships alone, and filling up the priesthoods with fresh blood.

6 **placuit ignoscentibus**] All 'political offences' were lumped together in the popular, or at least the senatorial, mind; men condemned for treason were looked on as victims, not as criminals, and in

consequence, says Tacitus, even good laws began to go for nothing, and their effects to be reversed; *i.e.* a man was held to be a victim not a criminal, if he had been condemned for *anything*.

CH. LXXVIII. 1 **familiarum adjectiones**] It was an ancient method of reinforcing a colony to 'add new households,' *i.e.* send out a fresh batch of colonists. But now of course the 'addition of households' meant, not sending out more Roman citizens to Seville and Merida, but admitting more natives of the towns to the *status* of colonists, *i.e.* to Roman citizenship.

Lingonibus] The Gallic Lingones had been disgraced by Galba, 53. 5; but we have no evidence that they had not, like the rest of Gaul, received citizenship already. There may have been a Spanish tribe of the same name, or perhaps the word is corrupt, but no real tribe is known whose name can be probably substituted.

Maurorum civitates] Their re-

Africae, ostenta magis quam mansura. Inter quae, necessitate 2
praesentium rerum et instantibus curis excusata, ne tum quidem
immemor amorum, statuas Poppaeae per senatus consultum
reposit. Creditus est etiam de celebranda Neronis memoria 3
agitavisse, spe volgum alliciendi. Et fuere qui imagines
Neronis proponerent; atque etiam Othoni quibusdam diebus
populus et miles, tamquam nobilitatem ac decus adstruerent,
'Neroni Othoni,' acclamavit. Ipse in suspensio tenuit, vetandi 4
metu vel agnoscendi pudore.

- 79 Conversis ad civile bellum animis externa sine cura habebantur. Eo audentius Rhoxolani, Sarmatica gens, priore hieme caesis duabus cohortibus, magna spe ad Moesiam inruperant, novem milia equitum, ex ferocia et successu praedae magis quam pugnae intenta. Igitur vagos et incuriosos tertia legio, adjunctis auxiliis, repente invasit. Apud Romanos omnia praelio apta: Sarmatae dispersi aut cupidine praedae graves

venues, and a jurisdiction probably lucrative as well as complimentary.

ostenta magis quam mansura] *i.e.* they were cancelled by Vitellius almost as soon as the news came of their being promised by Otho.

2] We have passed gradually to *pleraque contra decus*. Tacitus began with the honourable routine of public business, then passed to excusable measures of policy, and then to thoroughly indecent acts of indulgence to passion—Otho's own or the people's.

ne tum quidem] The crisis, which gave the excuse of policy to some questionable acts, ought to have driven out of his head any questionable act that was not even politic.

3 **proponerent]** Set up in public places—it does not appear whether new ones or old ones brought out of hiding.

Neroni Othoni] It seems from Plutarch, that the title was so far officially adopted as to be used in despatches sent to Spain—possibly

we are to understand that Rufus made it the pretext of his revolt. One should remember, that Otho was just as much a Nero as he was a Caesar—the object may have been to connect himself with the dynasty as much as with the individual.

4 **vel]** Tacitus suggests two possible motives for his indecision: either (wishing to reject) he was afraid to reject, or (wishing to accept) he was ashamed to accept.

CH. LXXIX. 1 **sine cura habebantur]** Probably, 'were considered to be free from anxiety.' One could scarcely say *sine cura habere* in the sense of 'to treat or regard carelessly.' Yet this might perhaps be excused by the use of certain other prepositions with *habeo*, *e.g.* *pro certo habere*, and still more *aliquem in metu habere*.

ad Moesiam inruperant] 'Had made an incursion on the borders of,'—*in* or the simple acc. would have implied a longer successful advance.

3 **dispersi . . . graves]** It has

onere sarcinarum, et lubrico itinerum adempta equorum pernicio-
tate, velut vincti caedebantur. Namque mirum dictu ut sit 4
omnis Sarmatarum virtus velut extra ipsos : nihil ad pedestrem
pugnam tam ignavum ; ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla acies
obstiterit. Sed tum humido die et soluto gelu neque conti
neque gladii, quos praelongos utraque manu regunt, usui,
lapsantibus equis et cataphractarum pondere. Id principibus 6
et nobilissimo cuique tegimen, ferreis laminis aut praeduro
corio consertum, ut adversus ictus impenetrabile, ita impetu
hostium provolutis inhabile ad resurgendum : simul altitudine
et mollitia nivis hauriebantur. Romanus miles facilis lorica et 7
missili pilo aut lanceis adsultans, ubi res posceret, levi gladio
inermem Sarmatam (neque enim scuto defendi mos est,)
comminus fodiebat, donec pauci, qui praelio superfuerant,
paludibus abderentur : ibi saevitia hiemis *et vi* vulnerum
absumpti. Postquam id Romae compertum, M. Aponius

been proposed to put the *aut* after *praedae* ; but Tacitus thought that would make the balance with *onere sarcinarum* too formal. Besides, it was not so much their booty that encumbered them as their reluctance to drop it.

4, 5] It is tempting to connect these wild and irresistible horsemen of the Don with the Cossacks of modern times ; but it should be remembered that the country has been traversed by almost all the waves of immigration into Europe.

quos praelongos] The antecedent is probably *conti* as well as *gladii*. The adj. is thrown into the relative clause that it may account for *utraque manu regunt*, 'which from their excessive length they manage . . .'

7 facilis] Just the opposite of the previous *inhabile*, only applying to the person, as that to the thing.

lorica] Yet Livy (xxxvii. 40) gives *loricatus* as a translation of

cataphractus. The fact is, *lorica* is used of any body-armour, but that of a Roman soldier was what the name ought etymologically to mean, of leathern *thongs*, and so flexible, while that of the *cataphracti* was stiff, even if not very heavy. One might compare the account of the *cruppellarii*, *Ann.* iii. 43. 3, 46. 6, who were more utterly helpless—like the men in plate armour of the 15th century : these were embarrassed rather than disabled by their armour, even when dismounted, like the knights in chain mail of the earlier middle ages.

inermem] There was no mean between the full armour of the nobles and none at all. Or it may mean, they had lost their clumsy *offensive* weapons in the fall.

hiemis et vi] These words are corrupt in M., which has (an abbreviation standing for) *hic miseria* ; of which the reading of the text is the least violent emendation.

Moesiam obtinens triumphali statua, Fulvius Aurelius et Julianus Titius ac Numisius Lupus legati legionum consularibus ornamentis donantur, laeto Othone et gloriam in se trahente, tanquam et ipse felix bello, et suis ducibus suisque exercitibus rem publicam auxisset.

- 80 Parvo interim initio, unde nihil timebatur, orta seditio prope urbi excidio fuit. Septumam decumam cohortem e colonia Ostiensi in urbem acciri Otho jusserat; armandae ejus cura Vario Crispino, tribuno e praetorianis, data. Is quo magis² vacuus quietis castris jussa exsequeretur, vehicula cohortis incipiente nocte onerari, aperto armamentario, jubet. Tempus³ in suspicionem, causa in crimen, affectatio quietis in tumultum evaluit; et visa inter temulentos arma cupidinem sui movere. Fremit miles, et tribunos centurionesque prodicionis arguit,⁴ tanquam familiae senatorum ad perniciem Othonis armarentur, pars ignari et vino graves, pessimus quisque in occasionem

8 Fulvius . . . legionum] There were three legions in Moesia (ii. 85. 1), but only one (the Third) had been engaged. Otho, however, paid court to the whole army, not without effect, i.e.

Tettius] Such seems on the whole most likely to have been his name. M. has here *et Titius*, in ii. 85. 3 *Tettium*, in iv. 39. 1 *Tito*, and in iv. 40. 4 *Tettio* again.

et ipse . . . et suis] As if he had had the merit both of planning the campaign (which was accidental) and of choosing the officers to conduct it (who dated from Nero's days, or at least Galba's). We should not have had *suis* so strongly emphasized if it meant, 'it was an omen that he would succeed against Vitellius, as his lieutenants had against the foreign enemy.'

CH. LXXX. 1 **cohortem e colonia Ostiensi]** Since Claudius' days a cohort had been stationed there to act as firemen.

tribuno e praetorianis] Does this mean that they were turned over to a Praetorian tribune, instead of one of their own, or that a man from the Praetorian ranks had been promoted to a command in this cohort?

3 causa] The motive for choosing the time, viz. the desire to have the men out of the way.

visa . . . arma . . . sui movere] One would of course translate '*the sight of arms aroused . . .*' yet the expression approaches so near to a personification as to make it likely that Tacitus was thinking of *Od.* xvi. 294, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος.

4 in occasionem] He meant to have put *intentus*, but thought he could keep the word to go with the next clause as well as this: when he got there, he thought a different adj. (viz. *cupidum*) would suit it better. There is thus something more than a zeugma; *in occasionem cupidum* would not only be an im-

praedarum, volgus, ut mos est, cujuscunque motus novi cupidum : et obsequia meliorum nox abstulerat. Resistentem 5
 seditioni tribunum et severissimos centurionum obtruncant :
 rapta arma, nudati gladii : insidentes equis urbem ac Palatium
 81 petunt. Erat Othoni celebre convivium primoribus feminis
 virisque ; qui trepidi, fortuitusne militum furor an dolus imperatoris,
 manere ac deprehendi an fugere et dispergi periculosius foret,
 modo constantiam simulare, modo formidine detegi, simul Othonis
 voltum intueri. Utque evenit, inclinatis ad 2
 suspicionem mentibus, cum timeret Otho, timebatur. Sed 3
 haud secus discrimine senatus quam suo territus, et praefectos
 praetorii ad mitigandas militum iras statim miserat, et abire
 properè omnes e convivio jussit. Tum vero passim magistratus 4
 tratus, projectis insignibus, vitata comitum et servorum frequentia,
 senes feminaeque per tenebras diversa urbis itinera, rari domos,
 plurimi amicorum tecta et ut cuique humillimus
 82 cliens, incertas latebras petivere. Militum impetus ne foribus
 quidem Palatii coërcitus, quo minus convivium inrumperent,
 ostendi sibi Othonem expostulantes, vulnerato Julio Martiale

possible construction, but would not suggest the exact sense.

5 *centurionum*] Only two, says Plutarch.

equis] Those of the *vehicula* were just handy, as the arms were.

CH. LXXXI. 1 *celebre . . . virisque*] Eighty senators, says Plutarch. Tacitus clearly means to describe a decorous state banquet ; but it was perhaps a symptom of a luxurious head of the state to keep such late hours as must have been kept to give the soldiers time to arrive from Ostia.

2 *Utque . . . mentibus*] 'And as happens when men's minds are . . . ;' *evenit* is present.

3 *haud secus . . . territus*] Tacitus would intimate that he was as innocent of the suspected treachery in desire as in act.

4 *magistratus . . . senes feminaeque*] Tacitus was not obliged to make up his mind whether this was an apposition or an asyndeton ; the *senes* would, many of them, be *magistratus*, and have *insignia* to throw off ; at any rate they, and even the *feminae*, would have trains of servants to avoid ; but there were two shocking things, that both the official respect due to rank, and the natural respect due to age or sex, were forgotten or turned to shame.

ut . . . cliens] Parallel to *amicorum*, in fact equivalent to *clientum ut cuique quisque humillimus erat*, 'the humblest of their clients that each of them could think of.'

incertas] 'Obscure,' not 'unsafe.'

CH. LXXXII. 1 *Julio Martiale* We heard of him in 28. 1.

tribuno et Vitellio Saturnino, praefecto legionis, dum ruentibus obsistunt. Undique arma et minae, modo in centuriones ² tribunosque, modo in senatum universum, lymphatis caeco pavore animis, et quia neminem unum destinare irae poterant, licentiam in omnes poscentibus, donec Otho, contra decus imperii, toro insistens, precibus et lacrimis aegre cohibuit, redieruntque in castra inviti neque innocentes. Postera die ³ velut capta urbe clausae domūs, rarus per vias populus, maesta plebs; dejecti in terram militum voltūs, ac plus tristitiae quam paenitentiae. Manipulatum adlocuti sunt Licinius Proculus et ⁴ Plotius Firmus praefecti, ex suo quisque ingenio mitius aut horridius. Finis sermonis in eo ut quina milia nummum singulis militibus numerarentur. Tum Otho ingredi castra ⁵ ausus: atque illum tribuni centurionesque circumstant, abjectis militiae insignibus otium et salutem flagitantes. Sensit ⁶ invidiam miles, et compositus in obsequium auctores seditionis ⁸³ ad supplicium ultro postulabat. Otho, quamquam turbidis rebus et diversis militum animis, cum optimus quisque remedium

praefecto legionis] We never hear of officers with this title elsewhere in Tacitus, whence some desire to strike out *legionis*; but there are no traces of corruption in the MS., and inscriptions prove that the office existed in the time of the Antonines. In Vegetius's time (under Valentinian), at all events, it was his function to command in the absence of the *legatus*; if this were the case as early as the present period, it might account for his being so rarely heard of. The legion (assuming that it is really mentioned) will be the *Classica*.

2 in senatum] Accounted for by the original rumour, 80. 3; *universum*, by the words that follow, *lymphatis* . . . *poterant*.

3 populus . . . plebs] See on 35. 1, 36. 2, and especially 40. 1.

4 Finis sermonis in eo ut] The conclusion the speeches worked up to, what they finally came to, was that . . .

5 Tum] When the donative had been promised.

militiae insignibus] Cf. *militiae* . . . *honorem*, Juv. vii. 88, which indicates what the tribunes' *insignia* were, the *clavus* and ring, like those of *equites*. There seems no evidence that the centurions had any other *insignia* than the invidious one of the *vitis*.

CH. LXXXIII. 1 **quamquam . . . postremo]** The connexion of thought seems to be, 'Otho was in a difficult position, but this speech was his way out of it.' Tacitus states the difficulty of either a strict or a lax course, first from the point of view of his hearers, then from his own. 'Otho, in spite of

praesentis licentiae posceret, volgus et plures seditionibus et ambitioso imperio laeti, per turbas et raptus facilius ad civile bellum inpellerentur; simul reputans non posse principatum scelere quaesitum subita modestia et prisca gravitate retineri, sed discrimine urbis et periculo senatus anxius, postremo ita disseruit:—‘Neque ut affectus vestros in amorem mei accen-² derem, commilitones, neque ut animum ad virtutem cohortarer, (utraque enim egregie supersunt,) sed veni postulaturus a vobis temperamentum vestrae fortitudinis et erga me modum caritatis. Tumultus proximi initium non cupiditate vel odio, quae multos³ exercitus in discordiam egere, ac ne detrectatione quidem aut formidine periculorum: nimia pietas vestra acrius quam con-

the confusion and the different tempers of his soldiers (for the best of them asked to have the present licence cured, while the common crowd mostly enjoyed mutiny and “an empire resting on popularity,” [so C. and B., see on I. 3]), at once reflecting . . . and on the other hand [*sed*], anxious,’ etc.

2 veni] Put out of its natural place; having been omitted with the preceding clauses, we should have expected it to come after the *postulaturus*, which is co-ordinate with them. The effect of the inversion is to make *veni* . . . *caritatis* sound more like a sentence by itself, so that the completed sentence may leave less the effect of mere flattery than its first clause produced.

3 initium] Supply *ortum est* from *excitavit*, says Or.; rather one might say that *initium* takes the same construction with a simple ablative that *ortum est* or a similar verb might.

odio] He means against the general or officers, as is proved by the balancing *nimia pietas*; else he might be thinking of jealousies between different corps.

pietas] ‘Loyalty,’ fidelity to the *personal* obligation towards me imposed by our mutual relation; see on 2. 8. The obligation expressed by this word on the part of a citizen, as such, to his *country* was felt by Romans of every age; e.g. the burden of Cicero’s *Philippics* is the denunciation of the *impius civis*, where ‘the unnatural son’ expresses the thought almost as nearly as ‘the disloyal citizen:’ the *soldier’s* relation to the *commander* rested on, and was limited by, the definite obligations of the *sacramentum*. Of course the nature and history of the civil wars, from Marius to Augustus, tended to reverse the respective importance of the two; but it does not appear that any one felt (at least before the orientalised monarchy of Diocletian) that the citizen, as such, owed, as a natural duty, any allegiance to the person of the sovereign, such as he owed to the abstract name of Rome. The soldiers had such an allegiance, which made it inevitable, though Tacitus and the best men (probably) of all ranks and parties thought it wrong, that an emperor should rest on an army who were ‘loyal’ to him, rather

siderate excitavit. Nam saepe honestās rerum causās, ni 4
 iudicium adhibeas, perniciosi exitus consequuntur. Imus ad 5
 bellum. Num omnes nuntios palam audiri, omnia consilia
 cunctis praesentibus tractari ratio rerum aut occasionum velo-
 citas patitur? tam nescire quaedam milites quam scire oportet.
 Ita se ducum auctoritas, sic rigor disciplinae habet, ut multa
 etiam centuriones tribunosque tantum juberi expediat. Si,
 ubi jubeantur, quaerere singulis liceat, pereunte obsequio etiam
 imperium intercidit. An et illic nocte intempesta rapientur
 arma? unus alterve perditus ac temulentus (neque enim plures
 consternatione proxima insanisse crediderim,) centurionis ac
 84 tribuni sanguine manus imbuet, imperatoris sui tentorium
 inrumpet? Vos quidem istud pro me: sed in discursu ac
 tenebris et rerum omnium confusione pateferi occasio etiam
 adversus me potest. Si Vitellio et satellitibus ejus eligendi 2
 facultas detur quem nobis animum, quas mentes inprecentur,
 quid aliud quam seditionem et discordiam optabunt? ne miles

than on the people who obeyed him while *de facto* ruler, or the Senate, who claimed the right to appoint him and obey him during good behaviour.

acrius quam considerate] So edd. since Walther. M. has *considerat*; *e* was easily omitted before *excitavit*, and Tacitus has the same construction (instead of the usual double comparative) in *Agr.* 4. 5.

6 tantum juberi] 'Simply receive orders,' not hear reasons. At the same time *jubeo* does not necessarily imply orders imposed *de haut en bas*; like *κελεύω*, it is 'to tell' any one to do anything, in whatever tone.

7 Si, ubi jubeantur] This must mean, 'If, whenever orders are given, individuals may ask questions,' (C. and B). M. has *sic ubi* (apparently as two words); reading *sicubi*, we could only translate, 'On any occasion where orders are

given, are individuals to be allowed to ask questions?' making *pereunte* . . . *intercidit* ('obedience is the bond of rule') a separate sentence.

8 illic] sc. *in bello*, § 5 init.; so Otho asks, 'Will you burst into my tent as you did into my dining-room?' It would be too gross an irony to make him call his dining-room a tent.

CH. LXXXIV. 2 **nobis]** '*Ora-
torio artificio utitur princeps.*'
Oberl. ap. Or.

quem . . . inprecentur] Dependent on *eligendi*, not a separate question co-ordinate with *quid . . . optabunt*.

ne . . . ruamus] Epexegetical of *seditionem et discordiam*, though there may be some question as to the exact construction. Either, 'What will they desire for us but mutiny and discord, preventing the soldiers from obeying the centurion' etc.? or, better, 'What will

centurioni, ne centurio tribuno obsequatur, hinc confusi pedites equitesque in exitium ruamus. Parendo potius, commilitones, 3 quam imperia ducum sciscitando res militares continentur; et fortissimus in ipso discrimine exercitus est, qui ante discrimen quietissimus. Vobis arma et animus sit: mihi consilium et 4 virtutis vestrae regimen relinquit. Paucorum culpa fuit, duorum poena erit. Ceteri abolete memoriam foedissimae 5 noctis: nec illas adversus senatum voces ullus usquam exercitus audiat. Caput imperii et decora omnium provinciarum ad 6 poenam vocare non hercule illi, quos cum maxime Vitellius in nos ciet, Germani audeant. Ulline Italiae alumni, et Romana 7 vere juvenus, ad sanguinem et caedem depoposcerint ordinem, cujus splendore et gloria sordes et obscuritatem Vitellianarum partium praestringimus? Nationes aliquas occupavit Vitellius, 8 imaginem quandam exercitus habet: senatus nobiscum est. Sic fit ut hinc res publica, inde hostes rei publicae constiterint. Quid? vos pulcherrimam hanc urbem domibus et tectis et 9 congestu lapidum stare creditis? Muta ista et inanima

they desire, but . . . that the soldier may not' etc.?

hinc] 'From this cause,' or 'this beginning.' Of course *ut* is to be supplied with *ruamus* from the preceding *ne*.

3 res militares] The plural is very rare, the singular common in apparently exactly the same sense.

4 culpa] A very mild word to use.

6 quos . . . ciet] 59. 2; 61.

3. non . . . audeant] 'Are not likely to venture'—*non auderant* would mark it more distinctly as inconceivable.

7 Italiae . . . juvenus] '*Tres urbanae, novem praetoriae cohortes, Etruriae ferme Umbriaeque delectae, aut vetere Latio et coloniis antiquitus Romanis,*' *Ann.* iv. 5. 4. Were then this 17th cohort Praetorians?

If so, their number must have been doubled since Tiberius; see on ii. 93.

depoposcerint] Or. quotes for the tense *Ann.* iv. 3. 3; xvi. 16. 2; *Germ.* 2. 1; perhaps still more similar is the use, as here, in an indignant question, cf. *Aen.* ii. 581, '*occiderit ferro Priamus? Troja arserit igni?*' etc.

praestringimus] '*Hebetamus, obumbramus,*' Or. It is doubtful which is really the metaphor. The word is used literally by Pliny in both senses—rubbing the edge off a weapon, and the gloss off ivory.

8 Nationes] An imitation of provinces, as well as of an army.

9 Quid? vos . . . creditis?] The sentiment, probably derived by Sophocles (*O. T.* 56-7) from a semi-proverbial γνώμη, was familiar at Rome, *Liv.* v. 44; Dio ascribes it also to Augustus.

intercidere ac reparari promisca sunt : aeternitas rerum et pax gentium et mea cum vestra salus incolumitate senatus firmatur. Hunc auspicato a parente et conditore urbis nostrae institutum, 10 et a regibus usque ad principes continuum et inmortalem, sicut a maioribus accepimus, sic posteris tradamus. Nam ut ex vobis senatores, ita ex senatoribus principes nascuntur.'

- 85 Et oratio ad perstringendos mulcendosque militum animos, et severitatis modus (neque enim in plures quam in duos animadverti jusserat,) grate accepta, compositique ad praesens qui coërceri non poterant. Non tamen quies urbis redierat : 2 strepitus telorum et facies belli, et militibus ut nihil in commune turbantibus, ita sparsis per domos occulto habitu, et maligna cura in omnes, quos nobilitas aut opes aut aliqua insignis claritudo rumoribus objecerat. Vitellianos quoque milites 3 venisse in urbem ad studia partium nōscenda plerique credebant. Unde plena omnia suspicionum, et vix secreta domuum sine formidine. Sed plurimum trepidationis in publico, 4

intercidere . . . promisca sunt] The verb attracted, by a conscious Graecism, into a personal construction; the natural expression would have been *muta ista . . . intercidere . . . promiscum est*. M. has *promisca*, without *u*, and so Or.

10 sicut] M. has *sic*, with the next word manifestly corrupt. Tacitus' language is too developed for it to be likely that he puts a double *sic*, as Homer would a double *ὥς*, to indicate that two processes were identical, leaving it for later grammarians to discover that one is a relative, the other a demonstrative adverb.

ex senatoribus principes] Such was necessarily the theory, and such had hitherto been the practice; see 29. 1 for Otho's own qualification.

CH. LXXXV. 1 severitatis modus] Both words of commendation,

as we might say, 'The way that justice was tempered with mercy;' though the *meaning* is less that they were glad he was strict than that he was not too strict.

2 et militibus] Balanced by *et maligna cura*, which is thus seen to be an abl. Some have wished to make the sentence a little easier and a great deal tamer, by reading *erat* for the former *et*.

occulto habitu] Hardly as much as 'in disguise,' but 'concealing their character,' as we should say, out of uniform. Lipsius quotes from Epictetus evidence that it was not unusual for soldiers to act as spies in plain clothes, but it must now have been done spontaneously.

maligna] Almost 'jealous;' they watched them because they grudged them their distinction.

3 credebant] Perhaps rightly, 75. 1, 2.

ut quemque nuntium fama adtulisset, animum voltumque conversis, ne diffidere dubiis ac parum gaudere prosperis viderentur. Coacto vero in curiam senatu arduus rerum omnium modus, 5 ne contumax silentium, ne suspecta libertas. Et privato Othoni nuper atque eadem dicenti nota adulatio. Igitur 6 versare sententias et huc atque illuc torquere, hostem et parricidam Vitellium vocantes, providentissimus quisque vulgaribus conviciis; quidam vera probra jacere, in clamore tamen, et ubi plurimae voces, aut tumultu verborum sibi ipsi obstrepentes.

86 Prodigia insuper terrebant diversis auctoribus volgata: in vestibulo Capitoli omissas habenas bigae cui Victoria institerat; erupisse cella Junonis majorem humana speciem; statuam divi Julii in insula Tiberini amnis sereno et immoto die ab Occidente in Orientem conversam; prolocutum in Etruria bovem, insolitos animalium partus, et plura alia, rudibus saeculis etiam in pace observata, quae nunc tantum in metu audiuntur. Sed praecipuus et cum praesenti exitio etiam 2 futuri pavor, subita inundatione Tiberis: qui inmenso auctu, proruto ponte sublicio, ac strage obstantis molis refusus, non modo jacentia et plana urbis loca, sed secura ejusmodi casuum

4 ut quemque . . . conversis] 'As men had to change their temper and looks according to every rumour reported to them;' the dative *conversis* depending on the clause *plurimum . . . in publico*, not on *adtulisset*.

dubiis] Probably abl. as *prosperis* must be one, cf. ii. 23. 2.

5 modus] The right point, cf. on § 1, the Aristotelian μέτρον.

nuper . . . dicenti] 'To Otho, who had lately been a private man, and in the habit of saying the same.' The pres. part. is always of a thing actually continuing, but not always from the point of view of present time.

CH. LXXXVI. I sereno et

immoto die] With neither storm nor earthquake to account for it; so the parallel passage of Plutarch, μήτε σεισμῶν γεγενητός μήτε πνεύματος.

in Orientem] The omen being not so much adverse to Otho as favourable to Vespasian, cf. v. 13. 2, 3.

2 praecipuus et . . . futuri pavor] The construction is in principle the same as that noted in 8. 2; 'their chief fear, and a fear for the future, besides the present damage.' Whether the fear was of a repetition of the inundation, or because the inundation was a bad omen, is doubted; perhaps § 4 is a detailed explanation of the latter.

implevit. Rapti e publico plerique, plures in tabernis et 3
cubilibus intercepti. Fames in volgus, inopia quaestus et
penuria alimentorum. Corrupta stagnantibus aquis insularum
fundamenta, dein, remeante flumine, dilapsa. Utque primum 4
vacuus a periculo animus fuit, id ipsum, quod paranti expedi-
tionem Othoni, campus Martius et via Flaminia, iter belli,
esset obstructum a fortuitis vel naturalibus causis, in prodigium
et omen imminentium cladum vertebatur.

- 87 Otho, lustrata urbe, et expensis belli consiliis, quando Poeninae
Cottiaeque Alpes et ceteri Galliarum aditus Vitellianis exer-
citibus claudebantur, Narbonensem Galliam adgredi statuit;
classe valida et partibus fida, quod reliquos caesorum ad
pontem Mulvium, et saevitia Galbae in custodiam habitos, in
numeros legionis composuerat, facta et ceteris spe honora-
tioris in posterum militiae. Addidit classi urbanas cohortes 2
et plerosque e Praetorianis, vires et robur exercitus, atque ipsi
Ducibus consilium et custodes. Summa expeditionis Antonio
Novello, Suedio Clementi, primipilaribus, Aemilio Pacensi,
cui ademptum a Galba tribunatum reddiderat, permissa.

3] A leaf of M., reaching to ii.
2. 3, is lost.

4 **campus Martius** was of course
covered by the inundation; the *via*
Flaminia, says Suetonius, was
blocked, twenty miles off, by the
fall of some houses. *Naturalibus*
probably refers to the former, *for-*
tuitis to the latter.

CH. LXXXVII. 1 *lustrata urbe*]
'Ob prodigia infausta, cf. *Ann.*
xiii. 24. 2, Or.

classe] ii. 14 sqq.

caesorum, etc.] 6. 3, 31. 4.

in custodiam habitos] The same
pregnant construction is used by
Liv. xxii. 25.

in numeros] Has this anything
to do with the technical sense of
numeri, 'detachments' (6. 5, etc.),
or is it merely a Tacitean variation

for '*in numerum legionis*,' so as to
count for a legion? Or. takes it
the first way, while seeming, not
very consistently, to adopt Dübner's
explanation, '*upon the lines* of a
legion,' *i.e.* so that if they were
promoted to land service, the *cadre*
was ready stretched. For the words
honoratioris militiae, cf. Livy xxxii.
23; here the comp. is a correction
for *honoratae*.

2 **atque custodes**] It is a question
whether we should put a comma
before these words, 'With the fleet
he joined the main strength of his
army, to the commanders he gave
assessors with instructions to watch
as well as to advise,' or take the
Praetorians themselves to be *consi-*
lium et custodes; probably the latter.

Aemilio . . . reddiderat] Above,

Curam navium Oscus libertus retinebat, ad observandam honestorum fidem comitatus. Peditum equitumque copiis Suetonius 3 Paulinus, Marius Celsus, Annii Gallus, rectores destinati. Sed plurima fides Licinio Proculo, Praetorii Praefecto. Is 4 urbanae militiae impiger, bellorum insolens, auctoritatem Paulini, vigorem Celsi, maturitatem Galli, ut cuique erat, criminando, quod facillimum factu est, pravus et callidus, bonos et modestos anteibat.

88 Sepositus per eos dies Cornelius Dolabella in coloniam Aquinatem, neque arcta custodia, neque obscura: nullum ob crimen, sed vetusto nomine et propinquitate Galbae monstratus. Multos e Magistratibus, magnam consularium partem, Otho, 2 non participes aut ministros bello, sed comitum specie, secum expedire jubet: in quibus et L. Vitellium, eodem quo caeteros cultu, nec ut Imperatoris fratrem, nec ut hostis. Igitur mota 3 urbis cura: nullus ordo metu aut periculo vacuus. Primores Senatus aetate invalidi et longa pace desides: segnis et oblita bellorum nobilitas; ignarus militiae Eques: quanto magis

20. 5. We hear of his death, iii. 73. 3.

comitatus] The neatest (not the easiest) conjecture proposed for *immutatus* or other corrupt forms.

4 **auctoritatem**] He had got a well-deserved reputation (*Agr.* 5. 1), and was living on it; Tacitus evidently thought him rather a prig, ii. 26. 2, 31. 4.

maturitatem] Paulinus was past his best time, Celsus perhaps hardly come to his.

ut cuique erat criminando] He put in an invidious light the special qualifications of each.

CH. LXXXVIII. 1 **neque obscura**] Or. understands 'not out of sight;' rather 'in confinement, not rigorous but unmistakeable.' Dolabella returned to Rome on Otho's death, and was executed, ii. 63. 4.

propinquitate] Probably in a

female line; he had been talked of for the adoption, perhaps as Icelus' candidate, if we compare 13. 4 with 14. 1.

2 **comitum**] In the half-technical sense of the term 'suite.'

expedire] i.g. *facere expeditionem*, so ii. 99. 1, if not 10. 3.

3 **motae urbis cura**] 'The city's anxiety was aroused,' certainly not 'was removed,' nor is it much better to take it as an ablative, and translate, 'he set aside all care for the city.' But considering what we heard of the *urbis cura* in c. 85, one wishes it were possible to translate 'the city's anxiety was changed, transferred,' which it scarcely is. One cannot see why Or. pronounces the MS. reading *motae . . . curae* 'languidum.'

Primores . . . nobilitas] The two clauses describe the same

occultare et abdere pavorem nitebantur, manifestius pavidi. Nec deerant e contrario, qui ambitione stolidi conspicua arma, 4 insignes equos, quidam luxuriosos apparatus conviviorum et irritamenta libidinum, ut instrumenta belli, mercarentur. Sapi- 5 entibus quietis et rei publicae cura : levissimus quisque et futuri improvidus, spe vana tumens : multi afflicta fide in pace, ac turbatis rebus alacres, et per incerta tutissimi.

- 89 Sed volgus, et magnitudine nimia communium curarum expers populus, sentire paulatim belli mala, conversa in militum usum omni pecunia, intentis alimentorum pretiis : quae motu Vindicis haud perinde plebem attriverant, segura tum urbem et provinciali bello, quod inter legiones Galliasque velut externum fuit. Nam ex quo divus Augustus res Caesarum composuit, 2 procul, et in unius solitudinem aut decus, populus Romanus bellaverat. Sub Tiberio et Gaio tantum pacis adversa rei publicae pertinuere. Scriboniani contra Claudium incepta simul audita et coercita. Nero nuntiis magis et rumoribus 3

phenomenon in individuals and in the mass ; only the *nobilitas* includes the younger members of senatorial families, not yet distinguished, and who, instead of being past service, had never seen it. Then he adds, that the *equites*, in theory a military order, were even less military in fact, for *ignarus* is a climax on *oblita*.

4 *ambitione*] Perhaps still the sense is 'complaisance' rather than 'ostentation,' since war was the order of the day at court, they would be warlike.

stolida] It was stupid for them not to see the incongruity.

5 *afflicta fide*] So *adfectam fidem*, iii. 15. 2.

CH. LXXXIX. 1 *magnitudine nimia*] Cf. Freeman's remarks on the decay of public spirit with the increased size of modern communities, in his essay on *Public and Private*

Morality. *Communes curae* differ from *publicae* as being rather opposed to class interests than to individual.

conversa . . . pecunia] Specie was scarce, because the soldiers were paid in cash and did not spend it at Rome ; perhaps also contractors, fearing Vitellius' success, hoarded or exported what they received for stores.

intentis] As we might speak of a *strain* on the market.

Vindicis] Galba had had no fighting at all, § 3.

2 *rei publicae pertinuere*] There is an alternative reading in (or *ad*) *remp. pertinere*.

Scriboniani] *Ann.* xii. 52. 2. He does not seem to have been any near relation to *Crassus Scribonianus*.

simul . . . coercita] The revolt was crushed within five days.

quam armis depulsus. Tum legiones classesque et, quod raro alias, praetorianus urbanusque miles in aciem deducti: Oriens Occidensque et quicquid utrinque virium est, a tergo; si ducibus aliis bellatum foret, longo bello materia. Fuere qui proficiscenti Othoni moras religionemque nondum conditorum ancilium afferrent. Aspernatus est omnem cunctationem ut Neroni quoque exitiosam: et Caecina jam Alpes transgressus 90 exstimulabat. Pridie Idus Martias commendata patribus re publica reliquias Neronianarum sectionum, nondum in fiscum conversas, revocatis ab exsilio concessit, justissimum donum et in speciem magnificum, sed, festinata jam pridem exactione, usu sterile. Mox vocata contione, majestatem urbis et consensus populi ac senatus pro se attollens, adversum Vitellianas partes modeste disseruit, inscitiam potius legionum quam audaciam increpans, nulla Vitellii mentione, sive ipsius ea moderatio, seu scriptor orationis sibi metuens contumeliis in

Oriens . . . a tergo] The whole West had by this time declared for Vitellius, while Mucianus and Vespasian adhered to Otho; thus of the two translations offered by Or., 'in reserve' seems to express Tacitus' sense better than 'in the background.'

ducibus . . . aliis] It was in fact Otho's personal character that ended the war; and Tacitus probably thinks that that of Vitellius would have, as it failed to command the loyalty of his subordinates. But perhaps he means no more than that of men so unwarlike as both were, one or other was sure soon to commit a fatal blunder.

4 nondum conditorum ancilium] They were solemnly taken (*mota*) from the temple of Mars on the 1st of March, and replaced (*condita*) after thirty days; and it was unlucky for an army to march in the interval.

CH. XC. 1 commendata patribus re publica] The Senate was still to

meet and administer the government, though not only its official chief, but its principal members were absent. The commendation was merely formal, the real powers were trusted to Titianus.

reliquias . . . sectionum] Probably the auctions are those described in 20. 4. The words would be more naturally understood (with Ritter) of confiscations by Nero, not confiscation of gifts of Nero; but it is scarcely credible that Nero would not have got the fruit of his confiscations at once, or that Galba should not have rescinded any not executed. The purport of this chapter, combined with c. 20, will be,—Galba made Nero's favourites disgorge for the public benefit, and ruined them, though the public benefited little; Otho gave up that little benefit (except so far as Galba had realized it) in favour of Nero's victims.

sterile] Some retain the MS. reading *sterili*, but cf. *non celebre* in § 3.

Vitellium abstinuit, quando, ut in consiliis militiae Suetonio Paulino et Mario Celso, ita in rebus urbanis Galerii Trachali ingenio Othonem uti credebatur. Et erant qui genus ipsum 3 orandi noscerent, crebro fori usu celebre et ad implendas populi aures latum et sonans. Clamor vocesque volgi, ex more adulandi, nimiae et falsae. Quasi dictatorem Caesarem 4 aut imperatorem Augustum prosequerentur, ita studiis votisque certabant; nec metu aut amore, sed ex libidine servitii, ut in familiis, privata cuique stimulatio et vile jam decus publicum. Profectus Otho quietem urbis curasque imperii Salvio Titiano 5 fratri permisit.

2 **ut . . . ita]** The point of the comparison is probably a half-sarcastic apology; no one blames an emperor for employing better soldiers than himself to command his armies, so why should we blame him for getting a better orator to compose his speeches? For the Graecism of *Othonem uti* instead of *Otho . . . credebatur*, cf. on 50. 1.

3 **latum]** Either 'copious, fluent,' as a characteristic of his style, or 'far-reaching' of his voice; on the latter view, it would give, not the point in which Otho's speeches resembled his, but the cause that made his widely known, so as readily to be compared with Otho's. Either way Tacitus does not mean the word for very high praise, but agrees with Quintilian, who ascribes to him a high degree of *external* merit.

4 **dictatorem . . . imperatorem]**

He gives to each his highest *military* title.

ut in familiis] Having the appetites characteristic of the servile state, they behaved just as domestic slaves do, *i.e.* aped, and thereby encouraged their masters from vanity and self-interest, where under no actual constraint. The comparison suggests that Roman slavery in this age was less rigorous than is generally supposed.

stimulatio] The word is silver-age; it does not seem to give a materially different sense from what *stimulus* would. Of course in English we should use a verbal subst., 'excitement,' or the like; but in Latin abstract and concrete verbals are kept more distinct.

5 **Profectus]** On the 24th of March, a wild and mournful festival of Cybele.

CORNELII TACITI

AB EXCESSU DIVI AUGUSTI

HISTORIARUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

I STRUEBAT jam fortuna in diversa parte terrarum initia
causasque imperio, quod variā sorte laetum rei publicae aut
atrox, ipsis principibus prosperum aut exitio fuit. Titus Ves- 2
pāsianus e Judaea, incolumi adhuc Galbā, missus a patre

CH. I. I in diversa parte] Judaea is conceived as the extreme south-eastern border of the empire, as Germany is the north-western.

initia causasque] The rise, or at all events the occasion of the rise. All that happened from the death of Galba, or even of Nero, contributed to *cause* the elevation of Vespasian, though his elevation did not *begin* till after the death of Otho.

quod . . . exitio fuit] The *imperium* is that, not only of Vespasian himself, but of the whole Flavian dynasty. It began with a bloody civil war, the sack of Cremona, the burning of the Capitol, and the formidable revolt of Civilis; then the reigns of Vespasian (when once established) and of Titus were orderly and tranquil; then succeeded the tyranny of Domitian, with disasters in Dacia; and Domi-

tian was finally assassinated, contrasting both with the peaceable age of his father, and the premature but honourable death of his brother.

2 varia sorte] A conjecture (the MSS. being corrupt) justified by its own fitness, as well as by the parallels ii. 95. 6, iii. 80. 3.

2 incolumi adhuc Galba] Before the fall of Galba, not only before receiving news of it.

missus a patre causam . . . ferebat] Vespasian is said to have suspected Galba of jealousy (according to Suetonius, even of a design for his assassination); hence he was anxious to conciliate him, beyond what was required of an ordinary provincial governor. But such suspicions could not be avowed; it was therefore safer to represent the country as his son's rather than his own, especially as the son *had*

causam profectionis officium erga principem et maturam petendis honoribus juventam ferebat. Sed volgus fingendi 3 avidum disperserat accitum in adoptionem. Materia sermonibus senium et orbitas principis et intemperantia civitatis, donec unus eligatur, multos destinandi. Augebat famam ipsius Titi 4 ingenium quantaecunq̃ue fortunae capax, decor oris cum quādam majestate, prosperae Vespasiani res, praesaga responsa, et, inclinatis ad credendum animis, loco ominum etiam fortuita. Ubi Corinthi Achaiae urbe certos nuntios accepit de interitu 5 Galbae, et aderant qui arma Vitellii bellumque affirmarent, anxius animo, paucis amicorum adhibitis, cuncta utrinque perlustrat. Si pergeret in urbem, nullam officii gratiam in 6 alterius honorem suscepti; ac se Vitellio sive Othoni obsidem fore. Sin rediret, offensam haud dubiam victoris, sed, incerta 7 adhuc victoria et concedente in partes patre, filium excusatum.

another good excuse for visiting Rome. At the same time, *ferebat* may be meant to contrast his alleged motive, not with a real one, but with the imagined one.

maturam . . . juventam] He was now just twenty-eight.

3 disperserat] Apparently the only place where this word is thus used without *rumorem* or some similar word to define its meaning. In fact it appears to be oftener used in this sense by Tacitus than by any other writer, see, *e.g.* 96. 3.

intemperantia . . . destinandi] The genitive is the same in principle as in phrases like *intemperantia vini*, so *inpotens* is often used (*e.g.* iv. 44. 3) with perhaps a conscious imitation of the construction of ἀκπαρής. But this use of the gerund seems to be unique, though it is needless to conjecture *destinantis*.

4 decor oris] Compare i. 7. 5 for the weight of this consideration with the masses.

prosperae Vespasiani res] Not merely that the son of a distin-

guished man was brought before the public's eye and the emperor's, but that the son of a lucky man was likely to be lucky.

5 cuncta utrinque may be 'all considerations on both sides,' *i.e.* in favour of going on or turning back, or 'all events from both quarters,' *i.e.* his possible treatment either by Vitellius or Otho.

6—8 Si . . . Sin . . . Sin] The form of the sentence supports the first translation suggested for *utrimque*. At the same time, the last *sin* prevents its being so symmetrical as to be decisive. Its force is:—There were objections to either course—stronger to one than to the other—but a third alternative was conceivable, that would supersede all objections.

7 incerta . . . excusatum] The ultimate victor could not blame Titus very much for not having taken his side before the victory, and if Vespasian did take his side before the victory, he could not afford to blame Titus at all.

Sin Vespasianus rem publicam susciperet, obliviscendum offen- 8
 2 sarum de bello agitantibus. His ac talibus inter spem metum-
 que jactatum spes vicit. Fuere qui accensum desiderio
 Berenices reginae vertisse iter crederent. Neque abhorrebat 2
 a Berenice juveniliſ animus: sed gerendis rebus nullum ex eo
 impedimentum. Laetam voluptatibus adolescentiam egit, suo
 quam patris imperio modestior. Igitur oram Achaiae et 3
 Asiae ac laeva maris praeſectus, Rhodum et Cyprum insulas,
 inde Syriam audentioribus spatiis petebat. Atque illum 4
 cupido incessit adeundi visendique templum Paphiae Veneris,
 inclitum per indigenas advenasque. Haud fuerit longum
 initia religionis, templi ritum, formam deae (neque enim alibi
 3 sic habetur,) paucis disserere. Conditorem templi regem
 Aërian vetus memoria, quidam ipsius deae nomen id perhibent.

8 **rem publicam susciperet]**
 'Should take on him the charge of
 the State.' The phrase would per-
 haps cover the case of impartial and
 patriotic intervention between rival
 claimants, as well as the assertion
 of his own claim from patriotic
 motives. *De bello agitantibus*
 would suit either case. If Ves-
 pasian had interfered on behalf, *e.g.*
 of Otho, Vitellius would still (as in
 the actual case) have had a quarrel
 with him superseding the mere
 grievance against Titus.

CH. II. 1 **jactatum spes vicit]**
 After long agitation between hope
 and fear, hope decided his action:
 hope that his father would make his
 return safe, as except through his
 father's success it would be safe
 neither to return nor to go on.

reginae] She had been wife of
 her uncle Herodes, king of Chalcis,
 and, on his death, of Polemo, king of
 Pontus (iii. 47. 1), but had long left
 the latter, and lived with her brother
 Agrippa. Tacitus therefore probably
 uses the word in the sense of a
 king's daughter and sister rather

than a king's wife; as we should say,
 rather 'princess' than 'queen.'

sed . . . impedimentum] After
 his accession, he was thought to
 mean to marry her: but parted from
 her on discovering how unpopular
 the proposal was.

3 **audentioribus spatiis]** 'By
 bolder stages,' no longer coasting,
 but striking across the open sea, so
 that there was no loitering, and no
 disguising his destination. Or
 remarks that the phrase is almost
 poetical.

4 **Atque]** When in Cyprus, the
 last-mentioned station.

neque enim . . . habetur] It
 was probably of Asiatic origin—
 either Phoenician or pre-historical.

CH. III. 1 **Aerian]** So *Ann.*
 iii. 62. 5. The second statement is
 the more likely—that the goddess
 of Paphos was Aeria (or some name
 so Grecized), and that her identi-
 fication with Aphrodite was an after-
 thought. When identified, people
 asked the origin of her local title
 Aeria, and an Aerias was imagined
 as a local eponym.

Fama recentior tradit a Cinyra sacratum templum, deamque ipsam conceptam mari huc pulsam. Sed scientiam artemque² haruspicum accitam, et Cilicem Tamiram intulisse, atque ita pactum ut familiae utriusque posterī caerimoniis praesiderent. Mox, ne honore nullo regum genus peregrinam stirpem ante-³celleret, ipsa quam intulerant scientia hospites cessere: tantum Cinyrades sacerdos consulitur. Hostiae, ut quisque vovit,⁴ sed mares deliguntur: certissima fides haedorum fibris. Sanguinem arae obfundere vetitum: precibus et igne puro altaria adolentur, nec ullis imbribus, quamquam in aperto, madescent. Simulacrum deae non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore⁵ initio tenuem in ambitum metae modo exsurgens; et ratio in⁴ obscuro. Titus, spectata opulentia donisque regum, quaeque

Cinyra.] He at any rate is a character of native or early naturalized Greek legend, always connected with Cyprus, *Il.* xi. 10, Pind. *Pyth.* ii. But the name seems to be Phoenician, cf. Melicertes.

2 haruspicum] Cicero (*de Div.* i. 2.) describes *augury* as the form of divination most valued in Cilicia; and of course he had means of knowing. The Cilician origin of one of the priestly houses may therefore be a mere guess.

3 stirpem antecelleret] The construction with the dative is more usual with this and equivalent verbs, but the accusative is found occasionally in the silver age: e.g. in Tacitus himself, *Ann.* xiv. 55. 7.

4 ut . . . sed] They may be of any species or value, subject to the restriction of sex.

precibus . . . adolentur] The *igne puro* means simply 'bloodless.' Probably incense would be used, but it might mean only that a fire was kept burning. In *Ann.* xiv. 30. 4 we have *cruore captivo adolere aras*, which, coupled with this passage, supports the view that *adoleo* originally means not 'to cause to smell,' but 'to honour,' literally

'increase,'—coming not from the verb *oleo*, but from the root of *adoleo*.

nec . . . madescent] A belief found at several other temples, specified by Polybius, xvi. 12. 3.

5 ratio in obscuro] We hear of the worship of *Bairōlia*—sacred stones—among the Phoenicians; in the O. T. we often have 'pillars' enumerated among objects of idolatry, and the use of 'great stones' as sacred monuments, so frequent down to the time of Samuel, would be a natural germ of such worship. The Caaba is too large for comparison, though it illustrates the same fetishist spirit. The statue (if it can be called so) of the Sun-god at Emesa was of the same shape as this; it was black, and said to be *duprēs*, while the material of this was unknown; both may therefore have been aërolites. Our own 'Druidical' monuments are chiefly found in districts abounding in boulders, 'sarsen stones,' and 'erratic blocks,' that look as if they had dropped from the sky rather than been produced naturally where they are found. But the description (and figures on coins) of the Paphian idol do not point to its being an un-

alia laetum antiquitatibus Graecorum genus incertae vetustati adfingit, de navigatione primum consuluit. Postquam pandi 2 viam et mare prosperum accepit, de se per ambages interrogat caesis compluribus hostiis. Sostratus (sacerdotis id nomen 3 erat,) ubi laeta et congruentia exta magnisque consultis adnuere deam videt, pauca in praesens et solita respondens, petito secreto futura aperit. Titus aucto animo ad patrem pervectus 4 suspensis provinciarum et exercituum mentibus ingens rerum fiducia accessit.

Profligaverat bellum Judaicum Vespasianus, obpugnatione 5 Hierosolymorum reliqua, duro magis et arduo opere ob ingenium montis et pervicaciam superstitionis, quam quo satis virium obsessis ad tolerandas necessitates superesset. Tres, 6 ut supra memoravimus, ipsi Vespasiano legiones erant, exercitae bello: quattuor Mucianus obtinebat in pace; sed aemulatio et proximi exercitus gloria depulerat segnitiam, quantumque illis roboris, discrimina et labor, tantum his vigoris addiderat integra quies et inexperti belli † labor (*amor*?).

hewn block; it may have been merely an ornamental obelisk, consecrated for mere antiquity, or have been made a symbol of the goddess because it was ornamental—as Hogarth tried to connect it with his ‘Line of Beauty.’

CH. IV. 1 *quaeque alia* . . . *adfingit*] The offerings ascribed to mythical, as well as historical, pilgrims and benefactors.

2 *de se*] What his final fortunes were to be—opposed to such particular inquiries as that about the voyage.

4 *fiducia*] In apposition with *Titus*, as *fides* in the next c. § 3. So in 23. 6, iv. 85. 2, we have abstract nouns in apposition with personal names: but the closest parallel quoted to this expression is a passage of Justin (xi. 9), ‘*qui . . . non mediocre momentum Persarum viribus accessere.*’

5 *Profligaverat*] ‘Had broken the strength of:’ this phrase exhibits a transition between the etymological sense (appearing in *profligare hostes*) and the derived one of exhausting, almost finishing: in fact, even with *bellum* we often have *profligare* coupled with *conficere*.

ingenium] So v. 14. 3, *Ann.* vi. 41. 1; *Vir. Georg.* ii. 177 is similar, though there he probably means to remind the reader of the common application of the word to *human* nature.

quo] The *magis* before and the *satis* after, give to the particle its ordinary syntactical force, ‘in proportion as,’ as with a comparative.

6 *amor*] Suggested by *Or.*, previous editors having proposed *ardor*. *Labor* is doubtless a careless repetition from the previous line.

Auxilia utrique cohortium alarumque, et classes regesque, ac ⁷
 5 nomen dispari fama celebre. Vespasianus acer militiae,
 anteire agmen, locum castris capere, noctu diuque consilio ac,
 si res posceret, manu hostibus obniti, cibo fortuito, veste
 habituque vix a gregario milite discrepans; prorsus, si avaritia
 abesset, antiquis ducibus par. Mucianum e contrario magnifi- ²
 centia et opes et cuncta privatum modum supergressa extolle-
 bant; aptior sermone, dispositu provisuque civilium rerum
 peritus: egregium principatus temperamentum, si, demptis
 utriusque vitiis, solae virtutes miscerentur. Ceterum hic ³
 Syriae, ille Judaeae praepositus, vicinis provinciarum adminis-
 trationibus, invidia discordes, exitu demum Neronis positus
 odiis in medium consulere, primum per amicos: dein prae-
 cipua concordiae fides Titus prava certamina communi utilitate
 aboleverat, natura atque arte compositus alliciendis etiam
 Muciani moribus. Tribuni centurionesque et volgus militum ⁴
 industria, licentia, per virtutes, per voluptates, ut cuique
 6 ingenium, adsciscebantur. Antequam Titus adventaret, sacra-
 mentum Othonis acceperat uterque exercitus, praecipitibus,
 ut assolet, nuntiis, et tarda mole civilis belli, quod longa

⁷ reges] v. l. 4.

CH. V. 1 anteire, etc.] Of course these are naturally read as historical infinitives, but probably Tacitus would not have refused to consider them as partly depending on *acer*.

² aptior sermone] Or. gives an explanation of the difference between this and *aptior sermone*, which would be superfluous but that some (late MSS. and edd.) wish to read the latter here.

³ in medium consulere] The sense is rather 'met each other half way' than 'took counsel for the common interest.' The phrase is of course common (e.g. Virg. *Aen.* xi. 335) but not fixed in meaning further than the necessary force of the words fixes it.

fides Titus] See on 4. 4.

etiam M.] Mucianus was not a churlish man whom it was difficult to find in good temper, but he was a versatile man whose temper it was difficult to calculate upon—also a wilful man (i. 10. 3, *comitate, adrogantia . . . mixtus*) whom it was difficult to *make* friendly of 'charity prepense.' If this seems far-fetched as an explanation of *etiam*, one may either take it 'to conciliate M. as well [as his father],' or connect the word with *alliciendis . . . moribus*; he was congenial to his *character*, besides appealing successfully to his *interest*.

CH. VI. 1 tarda mole] The substantive is used in a sense correlative to the verb *moliri*—a civil war was a great thing which it was

concordia quietus Oriens tunc primum parabat. Namque 2
 olim validissimā inter se civium arma in Italia Galliave viribus
 Occidentis coepta; et Pompeio, Cassio, Bruto, Antonio, quos
 omnes trans mare secutum est civile bellum, haud prosperi
 exitus fuerant; auditique saepius in Syria Judaeaque Caesares
 quam inspecti. Nulla seditio legionum: tantum adversus 3
 Parthos minae, vario eventu. Et proximo civili bello turbatis
 aliis inconcussa ibi pax; dein fides erga Galbam. Mox, ut 4
 Othonem ac Vitellium scelestis armis res Romanas raptum
 ire volgatum est, ne penes ceteros imperii praemia, penes
 ipsos tantum servitii necessitas esset, fremere miles et vires
 suas circumspicere. Septem legiones statim et cum ingentibus 5
 auxiliis Syria Judaeaque; inde continua Aegyptus duaeque
 legiones, hinc Cappadocia Pontusque et quicquid castrorum
 Armeniis praetenditur. Asia et ceterae provinciae nec virorum 6
 7 inopes et pecuniae opulentae. Quantum insularum mari
 cingitur, et parando interim bello secundum tutumque ipsum

slow and laborious to stir, while when it *has* arisen, the preceding clause says, the news of it travels fast.

longa concordia . . . primum parabat] Gaul under Vindex, Spain under Galba, the German armies under Vitellius, perhaps even Macer in Africa (i. 7. 1) had done the same: but for an eastern precedent, one had to go back to Antony, before the *longa concordia*. Then in the next sentence he says, 'If you do go back so far, you find exceptions which prove the rule.' Going still further back, however, one might quote Sulla as starting from the east to make himself master of Rome.

2 auditique . . . inspecti] Germanicus had died in Syria, and no Caesar had been there since.

3 Nulla seditio legionum] As there had been in the west on Tiberius's accession.

tantum . . . minae] Contrasted with the serious operations in Germany and Britain. Yet Corbulo's campaigns were serious enough, though little came of them.

5 duaeque legiones] So *Ann.* iv. 5. 3: in Augustus's time, however, and as late as when Strabo wrote, there were three.

6 ceterae provinciae] Those of the Danube: *nec virorum inopes* would scarcely apply to the other provinces of Asia Minor.

Quantum . . . cingitur] 'There were all the islands of the Mediterranean,' C. and B. In § 2 we had *mare* spoken of as separating the East from Italy—here it is said that the islands which broke the separation belonged virtually to the former. It is perhaps best, certainly simplest, to take *quantum* . . . *cingitur* thus, as co-ordinate with *Syria Judaeaque . . . Aegyptus*

mare. Non fallebat duces impetus militum: sed bellantibus aliis placuit exspectari belli exitum. Victores victosque nunquam solida fide coalescere. Nec referre, Vitellium an ² Othonem superstitem fortuna faceret. Rebus secundis etiam egregios duces insolescere: discordiam his, ignaviam, luxuriam; et suismet vitiis alterum bello, alterum victoria perituro. Igitur arma in occasionem distulere, Vespasianus Mucianusque ³ nuper, ceteri olim mixtis consiliis; optimus quisque amore rei publicae: multos dulcedo praedarum stimulabat, alios ambiguae domi res. Ita boni malique causis diversis, studio ⁴ pari, bellum omnes cupiebant.

8 Sub idem tempus Achaia atque Asia falso exterritae velut Nero adventaret, vario super exitu ejus rumore, eoque pluribus vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque. Ceterorum casus conatusque in contextu operis dicemus: tunc servus e Ponto sive, ut alii tradidere, libertinus ex Italia, citharae et cantus peritus, (unde illi super similitudinem oris propior ad fallendum fides,) adjunctis desertoribus quos inopia vagos ingentibus promissis corruperat, mare ingreditur; ac, vi tempestatum Cythnum insulam detrusus, et militum quosdam ex Oriente

. . . *Asia*, etc.; or one might translate, 'The islands lying in the sea at once gave them conveniences for preparing the war meanwhile,' because it facilitated their communication with Italy to have ports to touch at half way, 'and the sea itself was a source of safety' because the powers supreme in Italy had no fleet, except that operating on the Gaulish coast. This explanation supposes *et* to be unsymmetrically placed, but gives the best force to the position of *ipsum mare*.

CH. VII. 1 *coalescere*] A general maxim—not that the conquerors and conquered in this case never *would*, but that conquerors and conquered never *do*. It is idle to speculate what verb is to be supplied

from *placuit* for this and the subsequent infinitives to depend on.

2 *Nec referre*] As Otho's devoted troops fought zealously for Vespasian, Tacitus is careful to warn us not to suppose that Vespasian had ever given a loyal adhesion to Otho.

3 *Vesp. . . . consiliis*] 'Vespasian and Mucianus having taken counsel in common lately (since Titus reconciled them), and the rest (their respective adherents) having done so long before.'

4 *bellum omnes*] Balances rhetorically, though not grammatically, *causis diversis, studio pari*:—they had different motives, equal zeal, and the same practical end.

CH. VIII. 1] See on i. 2. 3.

2 *unde . . . fides*] 'From

commeantium adscivit, vel abnuentes interfici jussit, et, spoliatis negotiatoribus, mancipiorum valentissimum quemque armavit. Centurionemque Sisennam, dextras, concordiae 3 insignia, Syriaci exercitūs nomine ad praetorianos ferentem, variis artibus adgressus est, donec Sisenna, clam relictā insula, trepidus et vim metuens aufugeret. Inde late terror, multis 4 ad celebritatem nominis erectis rerum novarum cupidine et 9 odio praesentium. Gliscentem in dies famam fors discussit. Galatiam ac Pamphyliam provincias Calpurnio Asprenati regendas Galba permiserat. Datae e classe Misenensi duae triremes ad prosequendum, cum quibus Cythnum insulam tenuit. Nec defuere qui trierarchos nomine Neronis accirent. 2 Is, in maestitiam compositus et fidem suorum quondam militum invocans, ut eum in Syria aut Aegypto sisterent orabat. Trierarchi nutantes, seu dolo, adloquendos sibi milites et 3 paratis omnium animis reversuros firmaverunt. Sed Asprenati 4 cuncta ex fide nuntiata; cujus cohortatione expugnata navis et interfectus quisquis ille erat. Corpus, insigne oculis comā- 5 que et torvitate vultus, in Asiam atque inde Romam pervectum est.

IO In civitate discordi, et ob crebras principum mutationes) inter libertatem ac licentiam incerta, parvae quoque res

which, besides his resemblance in face, it was easier to deceive men into belief of him,' lit. 'belief was nearer at hand for his purpose of deceit.'

commeantium] 'Absent on furlough,'—a use of the verb correlative to the frequent one of the substantive *commeatus*.

3 dextras] i. 54. 1.

CH. IX. 1 ad prosequendum] 'For his escort: ' *prosequi* generally has the sense of *honorary* attendance more or less prominent.

2 accirent] What follows implies, that they did wait upon him when summoned.

Is] The pretender; but Tacitus, to heighten the interest, puts the construction in such a form that it seems as though it *were* Nero in reality.

4 expugnata] Of course the deserters and armed slaves would fight desperately.

quisquis ille erat] Tacitus does not believe that he was really Nero, but he seems to play with the belief: the next sentence is probably meant to imply that the *similitudo oris* was very striking.

5 in Asiam atque inde Romam] That no doubt might be left of the death of *this* Nero at all events.

CH. X. 1 ob crebras . . . in-

magnis motibus agebantur. Vibius Crispus, pecunia, potentia, ² ingenio, inter claros magis quam inter bonos, Annium Faustum, equestris ordinis, qui temporibus Neronis delationes factitaverat, ad cognitionem senatus vocabat. Nam recens, Galbae ³ principatu, censuerant patres ut accusatorum causae noscerentur. Id senatus consultum varie jactatum et, prout potens vel inops reus inciderat, infirmum aut validum retinebatur. Ad ⁴ hoc terroris et propria vi Crispus incubuerat delatorem fratris sui pervertere; traxeratque magnam senatus partem, ut infensum et inauditum dedi ad exitium postularent. Contra ⁵ apud alios nihil aequae reo proderat quam nimia potentia accusatoris: dari tempus, edi crimina, quamvis invisum ac nocentem more tamen audiendum, censebant. Et, valere

certa] Such changes put despotism in abeyance—the sanguine might hope liberty was restored, though anarchy was practically a likelier result.

Crispus] We have a more favourable character of him (applied, however, to a time some twenty years later) in Juv. *Sat.* iv. 81 sqq.

claros] We have the same use of the term in a doubtful compliment in Sall. *Jug.* 8. 1, Liv. viii. 27. 3, where *clari* is opposed to *honesti*.

delationes factitaverat] We have similarly *accusationem factitare* in Cic. *Brut.* 34. 130. *Deferre* and the cognate words did not get their technical sense before the empire, though their use in certain legal phrases (*deferrenomen*, etc.) furnished the germ of it.

3 accusatorum] Words of this form have often the force of ‘a man in the *habit* of doing’ the action of the verb, and that is clearly the force of this word here, and Cic. *Brut.* l.c. So *aedificator* in Juv. xiv. 86, Nep. *Att.* 11; so Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 12. 27, distinguishes *amator* from *amans*, as *ebriosus* from *ebrius*, or as *anxietas* from *angor*, and *iracundia* from *ira*.

It would have been absurd to prosecute everybody who had prosecuted anybody; but it was seriously proposed that actions should lie against those who had made themselves a character as prosecutors.

varie jactatum] Experienced various changes of fortune. ‘Was variously carried out,’ though expressing the sense, is not a translation.

retinebatur] Whether put in force or not, it was never abrogated.

4 Ad hoc terroris] ‘Besides the threat thus held out’ by the Senate, Crispus had motives of his own. It is curious that we hear of him again in iv. 42 sq., as himself reckoned among the most odious *delatores*. Here *potentia* in §§ 2, 5 hints the same, while we are told it expressly at the end of the chapter.

fratris sui] Vibius Secundus, *Ann.* xiv. 28. 3.

5 aequae . . . quam] The commentators duly notice that Cic. would have written *aequae ac*.

more] ‘According to rule,’ the reverse of *sine more* in Virg. *Aen.* viii. 635. The simple ablative, almost equivalent to *de more*, is found also in Cic. *Off.* i. 41. 148, where it is coupled with *institutis civilibus*.

primo, dilataque in paucos dies cognitio. Mox damnatus est 6
Faustus, nequaquam eo assensu civitatis quem pessimis mori-
bus meruerat. Quippe ipsum Crispum easdem accusationes
cum praemio exercuisse meminerant, nec poena criminis sed
ultor displicebat.

11 Laeta interim Othoni principia belli, motis ad imperium
ejus e Dalmatia Pannoniaque exercitibus. Fuere quattuor 2
legiones, e quibus bina milia praemissa; ipsae modicis inter-
vallis sequebantur, septima a Galba conscripta, veteranae
undecima ac tertia decima et praecipui fama quartadecumani,
rebellione Britanniae compressa. Addiderat gloriam Nero 3
eligendo ut potissimos; unde longa illis erga Neronem fides
et erecta in Othonem studia. Sed quo plus virium ac roboris,
e fiducia tarditas inerat. Agmen legionum alae cohortesque 4
praeveniebant. Et ex ipsa urbe haud spernenda manus, quin-
que praetoriae cohortes et equitum vexilla cum legione prima,
ac deforme insuper auxilium, duo milia gladiatorum, sed per
civilia arma etiam severis ducibus usurpatum. His copiis 5
rektor additus Annius Gallus, cum Vestricio Spurinna ad
occupandas Padi ripas praemissus, quoniam prima consiliorum
frustra ceciderant, transgresso jam Alpes Caecina, quem sisti
intra Gallias posse speraverat. Ipsum Othonem comitabantur 6
speculatorum lecta corpora, cum ceteris praetoriis cohortibus,
veterani e praetorio, classicorum ingens numerus. Nec illi

6 **cum praemio**] This, not the merits or demerits of the accused, was doubtless the test of cases which it was proposed to punish.

CH. XI. 1 **motis ad imperium**] 'Being put in motion, at his command,' *i.e.* not in consequence of orders from him, but at his disposal and in allegiance to him.

2 **bina milia**] It is disputed whether this means '2000 from each' or only 2000 in all. In the latter case *bina* is probably used merely for variety's sake, because

duo milia comes again in § 4.

rebellione Britanniae compressa accounts for *praecipui fama*; the *rebellio* is that of Boadicea (*Ann.* xiv. 29 sqq.).

3 **eligendo**] To act against the Albanians; they were then sent against Vindex, but if this only had been meant, it would not justify *longa fides*.

4 **haud spernenda manus**] Perhaps from 12,000 to 15,000 men.

6 **veterani e praetorio**] The *vexillarii* of 18. 1.

segne aut corruptum luxu iter, sed lorica ferrea usus est, et ante signa pedester, horridus, incomptus, famaeque dissimilis.

- 12 Blandiebatur coeptis fortuna, possessa per mare et naves majore Italiae parte penitus usque ad initium maritimarum Alpium. Quibus tentandis adgrediendaeque provinciae Nar-² bonensi Suedium Clementem, Antonium Novellum, Aemilium Pacensem duces dederat. Sed Pacensis per licentiam militum vinctus; Antonio Novello nulla auctoritas: Suedius Clemens ambitioso imperio regebat, ut adversus modestiam disciplinae corruptus, ita praeliorum avidus. Non Italia adiri nec loca⁴ sedesque patriae videbantur: tamquam externa litora et urbes hostium urere, vastare, rapere, eo atrocius quod nihil usquam provisum adversum metus. Pleni agri, apertae domus. Occur-⁵ santes domini juxta conjuges et liberos securitate pacis et belli malo circumveniebantur. Maritimas tum Alpes tenebat procurator Marius Maturus. Is concita gente (nec deest juvenus,) arcere provinciae finibus Othonianos intendit. Sed⁶ primo impetu caesi disjectique montani, ut quibus temere collectis, non castra, non ducem noscitantibus, neque in³ victoria decus esset neque in fuga flagitium. Irritatus eo praelio Othonis miles vertit iras in municipium Albintimilium. Quippe in acie nihil praedae, inopes agrestes et vilia arma; nec capi poterant, pernix genus et gnari locorum. Sed²

famaeque dissimilis] Unlike the reputation he had already—though perhaps he means also, unlike the reports circulated afterwards, which we get in Juv. ii. 99 sqq.

CH. XII. 2 Suedium, etc.] We had their names given before in i. 87. 2.

3 ambitioso imperio] So that he, unlike the rest, preserved influence, though not of a sort respectable enough to be called *auctoritas*.

adversus . . . corruptus] The last word in much the same sense as *corruptum luxuria*, in the end of the c. before; he was a vicious man,

which prevented his keeping good discipline.

4 patriae] All Italy is here conceived as the *patria* of all Italians—not the common Roman view (*e.g.* iii. 8. 2, 86. 1, and of Tiberius's leaving Rome for Campania, *Ann.* iv. 58. 3).

CH. XIII. 1 Albintimilium] Sometimes written in two words, *Albium Intemelium* (the inhabitants of the district are called Intemelii in *Agr.* 7. 1), now Ventimiglia or Vintimille. Agricola's mother was killed in the course of this inroad (*l.c.*)

calamitatibus insontium expleta avaritia. Auxit invidiam
 praeclaro exemplo femina Ligus, quae, filio abdito, cum
 simul pecuniam occultari milites credidissent, eoque per
 cruciatus interrogarent ubi filium occuleret, uterum ostendens,
 ‘latere’ respondit; nec ullis deinde terroribus aut morte
 14 constantiam vocis egregiae mutavit. Imminere provinciae
 Narbonensi, in verba Vitellii adactae, classem Othonis trepidi
 nuntii Fabio Valenti attulere. Aderant legati coloniarum 2
 auxilium orantes. Duas Tungrorum cohortes, quattuor equitum
 turmas, universam Trevirorum alam cum Julio Classico prae-
 fecto misit; e quibus pars in colonia Forojuliensi retenta, ne,
 omnibus copiis in terrestre iter versis, vacuo mari classis
 adceleraret. Duodecim equitum turmae et lecti e cohortibus 3
 adversus hostem iere; quibus adjuncta Ligurum cohors, vetus
 loci auxilium, et quingenti Pannonii, nondum sub signis.
 Nec mora praelio, sed acie ita instructa ut pars classicorum, 4
 mixtis paganis, in colles mari propinquos exsurgeret, quantum
 inter colles ac litus aequi loci, praetorianus miles expleret, in
 ipso mari ut adnexa classis et pugnae parata, conversa et
 minaci fronte praetenderetur: Vitelliani, quibus minor peditum
 vis, in equite robur, Alpinos proximis jugis, cohortes densis
 ordinibus post equitem locant. Trevirorum turmae obtulere 5

2 calamitatibus insontium] They did get some plunder by torturing non-combatants.

latere] ‘That he was hidden there,’ i.e. concealed by the fact of their relationship. C. and B. perversely assume a *double entendre*, ‘that she was pregnant at the time,’ and gratuitously, though less absurdly, wish to make *latere* mean ‘in my side.’

CH. XIV. 2. Julio Classico] Whom we hear of again, iv. 55 sqq.

3 Pannonii] The national forces naturally followed the armies quartered among them, so as those from Pannonia had joined Otho (II. 1)

we find a Pannonian cohort on his side (17. 2). But these had been enlisted and sent, no doubt, to be enrolled in a cohort attached to the German army—they then had marched with it, though not enrolled.

4 acie] Plainly Otho’s. The abl. abs. has no particular construction—‘the battle was not delayed, but (took place) with the line drawn up,’ etc.

paganis] ‘Intellige de rusticis, quos Othoniani vel coegerant vel mercede induxerant ut ipsis auxilia-
 rentur.’—Or.

conversa] With their bows to the shore, instead of their sterns,

se hosti incaute, cum exciperet contra veteranus miles, simul a latere saxis urgeret apta ad jaciendum etiam paganorum manus, qui sparsi inter milites, strenui ignavique, in victoria idem audebant. Additus percussis terror invecta in terga 6 pugnantium classe. Ita undique clausi; deletaeque omnes copiae forent, ni victorem exercitum attinisset obscurum. 15 noctis, obtentui fugientibus. Nec Vitelliani, quanquam victi, quievere. Accitis auxiliis securum hostem ac successu rerum socordius agentem invadunt. Caesi vigiles, perrupta castra, 2 trepidatum apud naves, donec, sidente paulatim metu, occupato juxta colle defensi, mox irrupere. Atrox ibi caedes, et Tun- 3 grarum cohortium praefecti, sustentata diu acie, telis obruuntur. Ne Othonianis quidem incruenta victoria fuit, quorum in- provide secutos conversi equites circumvenerunt. Ac velut 4 pactis indutiis, ne hinc classis inde eques subitam formidinem inferrent, Vitelliani retro Antipolim Narbonensis Galliae municipium, Othoniani Albingaunum interioris Liguriaie revertere. 16 Corsicam ac Sardiniam ceterasque proximi maris insulas fama victricis classis in partibus Othonis tenuit. Sed Corsicam prope adflixit Decumi Pacarii procuratoris temeritas, tanta mole belli nihil in summa profutura, ipsi exitiosa. Namque Othonis odio juvare Vitellium Corsorum viribus statuit, inani

the ordinary attitude for landing (Virg. *Aen.* vi. 3).

6 **obtentui fugientibus**] We can easily translate '*serving* to cover their flight,' but it is curious to have the double dative without any verb.

CH. XV. 1 **successu rerum**] 'By the favourable course of things,' apparently preferred by Tacitus (iv. 28. 4) as a more accurate expression, harmonizing with the impersonal construction of *succedere*, than the simple use 'by *their* success,' which, however, is not uncommon.

3 **quorum . . . circumvenerunt**] Notice the Tacitean way of making the mere order of the words tell the

story, while the construction runs on as though all the facts, except that comprised in the principal verbs, were known. The partitive gen. before the participle is even so curious.

4 **interioris Liguriaie**] The gen. for the country *in* which a town is, is common in Greek, hardly a conscious Grecism in Latin.

CH. XVI. 1 **tanta mole belli**] An abl. abs., '*when* the war was on such a scale.'

in summa] For the abl. instead of the more usual *in summam*, cf. *Ann.* xiii. 38. 1, and a *v.l.* in *Liv.* iii. 61.

2 **Corsorum viribus**] Ironical of

auxilio, etiam si provenisset. Vocatis principibus insulae consilium aperit, et contra dicere ausos, Claudium Pyrrhicum trierarchum Liburnicarum ibi navium, Quintium Certum equitem Romanum, interfici jubet. Quorum morte exterriti 3 qui aderant, simul ignara et alieni metus socia imperitorum turba, in verba Vitellii juravere. Sed ubi delectum agere 4 Pacarius et inconditos homines fatigare militiae muneribus coepit, laborem insolitum perosi infirmitatem suam reputabant: insulam esse quam incoherent, et longe Germaniam viresque legionum; direptos vastatosque classe etiam quos cohortes alaeque protegerent. Et aversi repente animi; nec tamen 5 aperta vi, aptum tempus insidiis legere. Digressis qui Pacarium frequentabant, nudus et auxilii inops balineis interficitur; trucidati et comites. Capita, ut hostium, ipsi interfectores ad 6 Othonem tulere; neque eos aut Otho praemio affecit aut punit Vitellius, in multa conluvie rerum majoribus flagitiis permixtos.

17 Aperuerat jam Italiam bellumque transmiserat, ut supra memoravimus, ala Siliana, nullo apud quemquam Othonis favore, nec quia Vitellium mallent: sed longa pax ad omne

itself, though *inani auxilio* is added, in case any one should miss seeing it.

principibus insulae] It is perhaps worth comparing Acts xxviii. 7; it gives us some notion of what these local notabilities were, that Malta maintained only one of them, who apparently (from his name) had received Roman citizenship.

4 inconditos] Without the spirit of discipline, as well as the knowledge of drill.

5 nec . . . vi] 'They did so, however, not by open force, but' . . . the abl. abs. is like that in 14. 4, the verb being supplied partly from *aversi* and partly from *legere*. This seems better than to force the meaning of *aperta*, 'yet, as there

was no opening for violence, they . . .'

qui Pacarium frequentabant] The *principes* of § 2, distinguished from *comites*, his Roman suite.

6 ut hostium] They were treated as 'public enemies,' *i.e.* traitors in arms. One cannot compare 12. 4, for the laws of war would *not* have called for such treatment of a foreign enemy.

CH. XVII. 1 **Aperuerat]** We have a similar phrase in iii. 2. 9, *reseratam Italiam*. *Aperire* is the common word in this sense; that in 21. 1 is similar. Both are held to be extensions of the application of the word to a fencer 'laying himself open.'

supra] i. 70. 1; immediately after

- servitium fregerat, faciles occupantibus et melioribus incuriosos. Florentissimum Italiae latus, quantum inter Padum Alpesque² camporum et urbium, armis Vitellii (namque et praemissae a Caecina cohortes advenerant,) tenebatur. Capta Pannoniorum cohors apud Cremonam; intercepti centum equites ac mille classici inter Placentiam Ticinumque. Quo successu Vitelli-³ anus miles non jam flumine aut ripis arcebatur. Inritabat quin etiam Batavos Transrhenanosque Padus ipse; quem repente contra Placentiam transgressi, raptis quibusdam exploratoribus ita ceteros terruere ut adesse omnem Caecinae² exercitum trepidi ac falsi nuntiarent. Certum erat Spurinnae (is enim Placentiam obtinebat,) necdum venisse Caecinam, et, si propinquaret, coërcere intra munimenta militem, nec tris praetorias cohortes et mille vexillarios cum paucis equitibus veterano exercitui obicere. Sed indomitus miles et belli² ignarus correptis signis vexillisque ruere, et retinenti duci tela intentare, spretis centurionibus tribunisque: quin prodi Othonem et accitum Caecinam clamitabant. Fit temeritatis³ alienae comes Spurinna, primo coactus, mox velle simulans, quo plus auctoritatis inesset consiliis, si seditio mitesceret.
- 19 Postquam in conspectu Padus et nox appetebat, vallari castra placuit. Is labor urbano militi insolitus contundit animos. Tum vetustissimus quisque castigare credulitatem suam, metum²

which passage, we are told of the *praemissae cohortes* of the next section.

melioribus incuriosos] We have the same construction, *Ann.* xiv. 38. 3. Or. holds the case to be dative rather than ablative.

2 Pannoniorum] See 14. 3.

3 Batavos Transrhenanosque] They wanted to show that they were used to large rivers, and not afraid of them.

falsi] An example of the original and rare use as a participle.

CH. XVIII. 1 Certum erat] There is a zeugma in the coupling

of the two infinitives with this: 'Spurinna . . . had made up his mind *that* Caecina was not yet come, and, if he were coming, *to* keep the soldiers in . . .'

CH. XIX. 1 placuit] Tacitus is glad of the impersonal form: if one were forced to say *who* 'thought it proper,' it would be Spurinna, but it commended itself as obviously proper to everybody.

2 vetustissimus] Used almost as a superlative to *veteranus*; so i. 23. 1. It is suggested that these would be the *vexillarii*.

ac discrimen ostendere, si cum exercitu Caecina, patentibus campis, tam paucas cohortes circumfudisset. Jamque totis 3 castris modesti sermones, et inserentibus se centurionibus tribunisque laudari providentiā ducis, quod coloniam virum et opum validam robur ac sedem bello legisset. Ipse postremo 4 Spurrina, non tam culpam exprobrans quam ratione ostendens, relictis exploratoribus ceteros Placentiam reduxit minus turbidos et imperia accipientes. Solidati muri, propugnacula 5 addita, auctae turres, provisa parataque non arma modo sed obsequium et parendi amor; quod solum illis partibus defuit, cum virtutis haud paeniteret.

20 At Caecina, velut relicta post Alpes saevitia ac licentia, modesto agmine per Italiam incessit. Ornatum ipsius municipia et coloniae in superbiam trahebant, quod versicolori sagulo, bracas barbarum tegmen indutus, togatos alloqueretur. Uxorem autem ejus Saloninam, quamquam in nullius injuriam 2 insigni equo ostroque veheretur, tamquam laesi gravabantur, insita mortalibus natura recentem aliorum felicitatem acribus oculis introspicere, modumque fortunae a nullis magis exigere quam quos in aequo viderunt. Caecina Padum transgressus, 3 tentata Othonianorum fide per colloquium et promissa, isdem

4 **culpam** probably goes with both participles, though *ratione* balances it rhetorically, which might tempt one to translate, 'showing by arguments how things stood.'

5 **paeniteret**] Almost equivalent to *paenitendum esset*, 'had no fault to find in it.'

CH. XX. 1 **post**] Compare Virg. *Georg.* iii. 2. 13, '*post montem oppositum et trans flumina lata.*'

saevitia ac licentia, i. 77 sqq. **barbarum tegmen**] So Virg. *Aen.* xi. 777. The *versicolor sagulum* as well as the *bracae* were characteristically Celtic. Caecina was tall and handsome (i. 53. 1), and perhaps light-complexioned,

and so thought he looked well in the costume of a Gaul. We naturally think of the 'plaid and trews,' but it is doubtful whether even the former is ancient; and the *bracae* were universal in Gaul, not peculiar to a man of rank.

2 **in nullius injuriam**] It did no one any wrong; but Tacitus is not quite sure that it was not indecent. Tiberius had complained of the elder Agrippina's prominence in her husband's army; and public opinion disapproved of her daughter sitting by Claudius, in a *paludamentum*, to receive the surrender of Caractacus.

3 **isdem**] By the same means,

petitus, postquam pax et concordia speciosis et inritis nomini-
 bus jactata sunt, consilia curasque in oppugnationem Placentiae
 magno terrore vertit, gnarus, ut initia belli provenissent, famam
 2 I in cetera fore. Sed primus dies impetu magis quam veterani
 exercitus artibus transactus : aperti incautique muros subiere,
 cibo vinoque praegraves. In eo certamine pulcherrimum
 amphitheatri opus, situm extra muros, conflagravit, sive ab
 oppugnatoribus incensum, dum faces et glandes et missilem
 ignem in obsessos jaculantur, sive ab obsessis, dum retorta
 ingerunt. Municipale volgus, primum ad suspiciones, fraude 3
 inlata ignis alimenta credidit a quibusdam e vicinis coloniis,
 invidia et aemulatione, quod nulla in Italia moles tam capax
 foret. Quocunque casu accidit, dum atrociora metuebantur, 4
 in levi habitum ; reddita securitate, tamquam nihil gravius pati
 potuissent, maerebant. Ceterum multo suorum cruore pulsus
 Caecina ; et nox parandis operibus assumpta. Vitelliani 5
 pluteos cratesque et vineas subfodiendis muris protegendisque
 obpugnatoribus, Othoniani sudes et immensas lapidum ac
 plumbi aerisque moles perfringendis obruendisque hostibus

colloquium et promissa. It would be a gratuitous harshness to take it as a dat. or abl. of the agent.

famam in cetera] C. and B. excellently, 'prestige.' One may notice as unusual the suppression of *ita* or *talem* : cf. iv. 4. 5.

CH. XXI. I artibus] 'The measures, the arts that *ought* to be employed by a veteran army,' for the German troops really were veterans. The word *artibus* is quite general, but especially fit to be opposed to *impetu*.

cibo vinoque praegraves] Vitellius had abolished discipline, and got enthusiasm instead ; but the latter was only sustained by material stimulants.

2 glandes] Probably red-hot shot, we cannot tell how discharged ; leaden bullets from slings, the com-

mon meaning, would be out of place, as he is plainly giving only the possible causes of the fire.

missilem ignem will include the other two as well as *falaricas*, and such missiles expressly used for the purpose.

retorta] '*Tormentorum ope remissa.*' The word is corrupt in M., but the alteration is slight, and the meaning required of the word very Tacitean.

4 assumpta] The remainder of the day not being long enough ; there is no need for the correction *absumpta*.

5 perfringendis obruendisque hostibus] To be used when the enemy formed a *testudo*, to which alone the words are applicable ; cf. iii. 27. 4.

expediunt. Utrimque pudor, utrimque gloria, et diversae 6
 exhortationes, hinc legionum et Germanici exercitus robur,
 inde urbanae militiae et praetoriarum cohortium decus attol-
 lentium; illi ut segnem et desidem et circo ac theatris corrup-
 tum militem, hi peregrinum et externum increpabant. Simul
 Othonem ac Vitellium celebrantes culpantesve, uberioribus
 22 inter se probris quam laudibus stimulabantur. Vixdum orto
 die plena propugnatoribus moenia, fulgentes armis virisque
 campi, densum legionum agmen, sparsa auxiliorum manus,
 altiora murorum sagittis aut saxis incessere, neglecta aut aevo
 fluxa comminus adgredi. Ingerunt desuper Othoniani pila, 2
 librato magis et certo ictu, adversus temere subeuntes cohortes
 Germanorum cantu truci et more patrio nudis corporibus
 super humeros scuta quatientium. Legionarius pluteis et 3
 cratibus tectus subruit muros, instruit aggerem, molitur portas.
 Contra praetoriani dispositos ad id ipsum molares ingenti
 pondere ac fragore provolvunt. Pars subeuntium obruti; pars 4
 confixi et exsanguis aut laceri, cum augeter stragem trepidatio,

6 **pudor . . . gloria**] The less and more hopeful sides of the same feeling.

7 **uberioribus . . . stimulabantur**] 'They found on both sides reproaches more plentiful than praises to use as incitements; each side soon came to the end of the good qualities of their own emperor, but were able to go on abusing the other without exhausting the subject.

CH. XXII. 1 **legionum**] Strictly speaking Caecina had only one legion (i. 61. 2), but no doubt he had detachments from others. In fact, the word as here used is virtually equivalent to *legionariorum*.

2 **librato magis**] Liv. xxx. 10 has, in a similar passage, the form *libration*.

cantu truci] The *baritus* of Germ. iii. 1. Later writers however seem to use that word of an inarticu-

late war-whoop, and Tacitus, *l.c.*, seems to imply that the *cantus* passed into one. Notice that the most barbarous auxiliaries are organized in *cohortes*; however much they retain of their native mode of fighting, they have received a discipline beyond that of their own *catervae*.

3 **aggerem**] For engines to be placed on. Besides raising them more nearly to a level with the walls, the earthwork would, like that of a modern battery, shelter the men working them.

molitur] Similarly used in Liv. xlii. 18. 2—there the only resistance to be overcome is that of the gate itself,—and in *Ann.* i. 39. 4 the use has advanced still further, for there it is of bursting a common house door.

4 **confixi**] Not by the stones

eoque acrius e moenibus vulnerarentur, rediere infracta partium fama. Et Caecina, pudore coeptae temere obpugnationis, ne 5 inrisus ac vanus isdem castris adsideret, trajecto rursus Pado Cremonam petere intendit. Tradidere sese abeunti Turullius 6 Cerialis cum compluribus classicis, et Julius Breganticus cum paucis equitum, hic praefectus alae, in Batavis genitus, ille primipilaris, et Caecinae haud alienus, quod ordines in Germania duxerat.

- 23 Spurrinna, comperto itinere hostium, defensam Placentiam, quaeque acta et quid Caecina pararet, Annium Gallum per litteras docet. Gallus legionem primam in auxilium Placentiae 2 ducebat, diffusus paucitate cohortium, ne longius obsidium et vim Germanici exercitus parum tolerarent. Ubi pulsum 3 Caecinam pergere Cremonam accepit, aegre coërcitam legionem et pugnandi ardore usque ad seditionem progressam, Bedriaci sistit. Inter Veronam Cremonamque situs est vicus, duabus jam Romanis cladibus notus infaustusque.

Isdem diebus a Marcio Macro haud procul Cremona pros- 4 pere pugnatum. Namque promptus animi Marcius transvectos navibus gladiatores in adversam Padi ripam repente effudit.

(the word would not be used of such wounds), but explained by *cum . . . vulnerarentur*.

rediere] M. has *redire*, and it is not impossible that Tacitus puts the historic inf. to balance *obruiti*.

6 in Batavis genitus gives *his* motive, as *et . . . duxerat* gives *Cerialis*?

CH. XXIII. 2 diffusus paucitate] The same construction is found in Suet. *Jul.* 3, and in one or two later writers. At the same time, since M. has the dat. substituted by the first hand, it cannot be said that the reading of the text is certain.

3 Bedriaci] So, according to all our evidence, Tacitus spells it, and so Josephus. It was a small place, unknown (as he seems here to

imply) except for these two disasters; and people hearing of it for the first time seem to have written it anyhow. Juv. (according to the best edd.) makes the third letter a *b*, Plutarch and Suetonius a *t*. It is said to have been twenty miles from Cremona, but the distances given by Tacitus (iii. 15. 5, 18. 1) seem to imply less. At all events it is not certainly identified.

duabus] The second battle began half way between Bedriacum and Cremona, and ended under the walls of the latter. But of course it was less inaccurate to identify these two battle-fields than those of Pharsalia and Philippi.

4 Marcio Macro] He was consul elect, 71. 3.

Turbata ibi Vitellianorum auxilia, et, ceteris Cremonam 5
fugientibus, caesi qui restiterant. Sed repressus vincentium
impetus, ne novis subsidiis firmati hostes fortunam praelii
mutarent. Suspectum id Othonianis fuit, omnia ducum facta
prave aestimantibus. Certatim; ut quisque animo ignavus,
procax ore, Annium Gallum et Suetonium Paulinum et Marium
Celsum († nam eos quoque Otho praefecerat,) variis crimi-
nibus incesserant. Acerrima seditionum ac discordiae 6
incitamenta interfectores Galbae. Scelere et metu vecordes
miscere cuncta, modo palam turbidis vocibus, modo oc-
cultis ad Othonem litteris; qui humillimo cuique credulus,
bonos metuens trepidabat, rebus prosperis incertus et inter
adversa melior. Igitur Titianum fratrem accitum bello prae-
posuit.

- 24 Interea Paulini et Celsi ductu res egregiae gestae. Ange-
bant Caecinam nequicquam omnia coepta et senescens exer-
citus sui fama. Pulsus Placentia, caesis nuper auxiliis, etiam 2
per concursum exploratorum, crebra magis quam digna memo-
ratu praelia, inferior, propinquante Fabio Valente, ne omne
belli decus illuc concederet, recipere gloriam avidius quam
consultius properabat. Ad duodecimum a Cremona (locus
Castorum vocatur,) ferocissimos auxiliarium imminentibus viae

5 **nam . . . praefecerat**] Ritter and Or. think these words otiose, though the latter thinks *some* parenthesis of the sort necessary. Perhaps most will be satisfied with Burnouf's explanation, that *eos quoque* means 'Paulinus and Celsus, as well as Gallus,' whom we have just had mentioned, not 'Paulinus, Celsus, and Gallus, as well as Macer.'

6 **interfectores**] The actual or alleged slayers, named in i. 41. 6; those who had merely taken part in the mutiny, and been present at his death, would be too large a class to be thus designated. *Humillimo cuique* seems to show that though

rewarded they had not been promoted.

CH. XXIV. 1 **Paulini et Celsi**] Gallus had perhaps already met with his accident (33. 1).

2 **concursum exploratorum**] 'In collision between their skirmishers;'
praelia in apposition to *concursum*.

3 **Castorum**] Suet. has '*ad Castoris*,' Orosius (who used Tacitus) *Castores*. *Castores* seems to have been commoner as a popular than a literary translation of *Διόσκουροι*; at least Plin. *H. N.* x. 43, 60, xxxiv. 11, is the only authority quoted for it earlier than Servius and St. Jerome (Acts xxviii. 11). But the *geminus*

lucis occultos componit. Equites procedere longius jussi, et, irritato praelio sponte refugii, festinationem sequentium elicere, donec insidiae coërentur. Proditum id Othonianis ducibus, 4 et curam peditum Paulinus, equitum Celsus sumpsere. Tertiae decimae legionis vexillum, quattuor auxiliorum cohortes et quingenti equites in sinistro locantur; aggerem viae tres praetoriae cohortes altis ordinibus obtinuerunt; dextra fronte prima legio incessit cum duabus auxiliaribus cohortibus et quingentis equitibus. Super hos e praetorio auxiliisque mille equites, 5 cumulus prosperis aut subsidium laborantibus, ducebantur.

25 Antequam miscerentur acies, terga vertentibus Vitellianis, Celsus doli prudens repressit suos. Vitelliani temere exsurgentes cedente sensim Celso, longius secuti ultro in insidias praecipitantur. Nam a lateribus cohortes, † legionum (*legion-
ariorum*?) adversa frons, et subito discursu terga cinxerant equites. Signum pugnae non statim a Suetonio Paulino pediti 2 datum. Cunctator natura, et cui cauta potius consilia cum

Pollux of *Hor. Od.* iii. 29. 64 is the same in principle (*Ov. A. A.* i. 746 is not so clear).

lucis] Belonging to the temple.

4 **vexillum**] Included among the 2000 men sent in advance of the main body, II. 2.

aggerem viae] So iii. 21. 2. Then as here it was occupied *altis ordinibus* (for a whole legion was got upon it), because the open space and firm footing made attack easier (see cap. iii. 23. 2).

dextra fronte] The right *wing*, not really different from *dextro cornu*. Neither Greeks nor Romans ever fought 'in line' in our sense, and therefore the *profile* of their formation would always present an appreciable *frons*.

CH. XXV. I **Vitellianis . . . Vitelliani**] The first are the advancing cavalry, the next the ambushes in the groves.

nam . . . equites] 'For there were the cohorts on their flanks, the legionaries meeting them in front, and the cavalry, suddenly starting from their opposite stations, had surrounded their rear.' Or. and other editors are dissatisfied with *legionum*; they say there was only one: but the same considerations apply as in c. 22. 1.

2 **Cunctator**] The memory of Fabius made the word bear a habitually good sense (*Liv.* xxii. 12.) In iii. 4. 2 we have it (or the comparative irregularly formed from it), in perhaps a neutral one. But if it be good to be *cunctator* from choice, it is not good to be so by temperament. *Liv.* vi. 23 opposes it to *acerrimus bellator*.

cui cauta . . . placerent] 'To whom science gave more charm to cautious measures than success to such as chance originated.'

ratione quam prospera ex casu placerent, compleri fossas, aperiri campum, pandi aciem jubebat; satis cito incipi victoriam ratus, ubi provisum foret ne vincerentur. Ea cunctatione 3 spatium Vitellianis datum in vineas, nexu traducum impeditas, refugiendi. Et modica silva adhaerebat; unde rursus ausi promptissimos praetorianorum equitum interfecere. Volnera-
 26 tur rex Epiphanes, impigre pro Othone pugnam ciens. Tum Othonianus pedes erupit. Protrita hostium acie, versi in fugam etiam qui subveniebant. Nam Caecina non simul cohortes sed singulas acciverat; quae res in praelio trepidationem auxit, cum dispersos nec usquam validos pavor fugientium abriperet. Orta et in castris seditio, quod non universi 2 ducerentur. Vincetus praefectus castrorum Julius Gratus, tamquam fratri apud Othonem militanti proditionem ageret, cum fratrem ejus, Julium Frontonem tribunum, Othoniani sub eodem crimine vinxissent. Caeterum ea ubique formido fuit 3 apud fugientes, occursantes, in acie, pro vallo, ut deleri cum universo exercitu Caecinam potuisse, ni Suetonius Paulinus receptui cecinisset, utrisque in partibus percrebuerit. Timuisse 4 se Paulinus ferebat tantum insuper laboris atque itineris, ne Vitellianus miles recens e castris fessos adgrederetur, et percussis nullum retro subsidium foret. Apud paucos ea ducis ratio probata, in vulgus adverso rumore fuit.

3 *vineas . . . silva*] So 41. 5, iii. 21. 2, *densis arbustis*. See note on the former place.

unde rursus ausi] 'From which (cover) they gained renewed courage.' It is hardly meant that they left the cover.

rex Epiphanes] Son to the reigning king (so v. 9. 2, and *regina* in Virg. *Aen.* vi. 28), Antiochus of Commagene. It is not certain whether they were really descended from the great Seleucid dynasty, but perhaps the *vetustis opibus* of 81. 1 implies it.

CH. XXVI. 1 Tum] When they saw their cavalry suffering—perhaps without waiting to complete Paulinus' precautions.

2 fratri . . . proditionem ageret] The meaning is no doubt the same as the common construction *cum fratre de proditione ageret*. The dative is used as the case that would follow the cognate verb *prodere*.

3 occursantes] The reinforcements successively sent up.

4 apud paucos, etc.] Tacitus on the whole does not believe in

- 27 Haud perinde id damnum Vitellianos in metum compulit quam ad modestiam composuit; nec solum apud Caecinam, qui culpam in militem conferebat seditioni magis quam praelio paratum: Fabii quoque Valentis copiae (jam enim Ticinum venerat,) posito hostium contemptu et recuperandi decoris cupidine reverentius et aequalius duci parebant. Gravis 2 alioquin seditio exarserat, quam altiore initio (neque enim rerum a Caecina gestarum ordinem interrumpi oportuerat,) repetam. Cohortes Batavorum, quas, bello Neronis a quarta 3 decima legione digressas, cum Britanniam peterent, audito Vitellii motu in civitate Lingonum Fabio Valenti adjunctas rettulimus, superbe agebant, ut *cujusque* legionis tentoria accessissent, coërcitos a se quartadecimanos, ablatam Neroni Italiam, atque omnem belli fortunam in ipsorum manu sitam jactantes. Contumeliosum id militibus, acerbum duci; cor- 4 rupta jurgiis aut rixis disciplina; ad postremum Valens e
- 28 petulantia etiam perfidiam suspectabat. Igitur nuntio adlato pulsam Trevirorum alam Tungrosque a classe Othonis, et Narbonensem Galliam circumiri, simul cura socios tuendi et militari astu cohortes turbidas ac, si una forent, praevalidas dispergendi, partem Batavorum ire in subsidium jubet. Quod 2 ubi auditum volgatumque, maerere socii, fremere legiones. Orbari se fortissimorum virorum auxilio; veteres illos et tot bellorum victores, postquam in conspectu sit hostis, velut ex

either his sound judgment or his treachery; cf. 60. 3.

CH. XXVII. 1 *conferebat*] Tried to. Tacitus clearly thinks that he was to blame himself (24. 2).

aequalius] More steadily, uniformly.

2 *neque enim . . . oportuerat*] 'For it *would have been* improper' is the right translation, though *oportuisset* would *not* have been the natural mood.

3 *bello Neronis*] Against Vindex.

rettulimus] i. 59. 2, 64. 3, 4.

coercitos . . . Italiam] We have not sufficient details of the fall of Nero to determine what was the foundation for these claims; but the sense clearly is, that but for them the 14th (see II. 3) would have gone with Nero.

belli] Probably the *present* one; having decided the former, they felt confident of deciding this.

CH. XXVIII. 1 *circumiri*] An exaggeration, 15. 4.

militari astu] The former word

acie abduci. Si provincia urbe et salute imperii potior sit, 3
 omnes illuc sequerentur: sin victoriae sanitas, sustentaculum,
 columen in Italia verteretur, non abrumpendos, ut corpori,
 29 validissimos artus. Haec ferociter jactando, postquam inmissis
 lictoribus Valens coërcere seditionem coeptabat, ipsum in-
 vadunt, saxa jaciunt, fugientem sequuntur. Spolia Galliarum 2
 et Viennensium aurum et pretia laborum suorum occultare
 clamitantes, direptis sarcinis; tabernacula ducis ipsamque
 humum pilis et lanceis rimabantur. Nam Valens servili veste
 apud decurionem equitum tegebatur. Tum Alfenius Varus 3
 praefectus castrorum, deflagrante paulatim seditione, addit
 consilium, vetitis obire vigilias centurionibus, omisso tubae
 sono, quo miles ad belli munia cietur. Igitur torpere cuncti, 4
 circumspectare inter se attoniti et id ipsum, quod nemo regeret,
 paventes. Silentio, patientia, postremo precibus ac lacrimis
 veniam quaerebant. Ut vero deformis et flens et praeter 5
 spem incolumis Valens processit, gaudium, miseratio, favor:
 versi in laetitiam, ut est volgus utroque inmodicum. Laudantes
 gratantesque circumdatum aquilis signisque in tribunal ferunt.
 Ille utili moderatione non supplicium cujusquam poposcit; 6
 ac, ne dissimulans suspectior foret, paucos incusavit; gnarus
 30 civilibus bellis plus militibus quam ducibus licere. Munienti-
 bus castra apud Ticinum de adversa Caecinae pugna adlatum,
 et prope renovata seditio, tamquam fraude et cunctationibus
 Valentis praelio defuissent. Nolle requiem, non exspectare
 ducem, anteire signa, urgere signiferos. Rapido agmine

is a compliment (iii. 15. 2), the latter turns it into a doubtful one.

3 *sanitas*] 'Integrity,' 'completeness.'

columen] Almost synonymous with *sustentaculum*.

CH. XXIX. 1 *inmissis*] 'Having set his lictors on them.' The word is most commonly used of a charge of cavalry, or of dogs or wild beasts turned loose on a man.

2 *Spolia Galliarum*] From the time of the defeat of Vindex.

Viennensium aurum] The ransom of i. 66.

4 *Silentio, patientia*] By saying nothing and doing nothing violent.

5 *circumdatum aquilis signisque*] So i. 36. 1.

6 *dissimulans*] 'If he took no notice' of the mutiny.

Caecinae junguntur. Inprospera Valentis fama apud exercitum Caecinae erat: expositos se tanto pauciores integris hostium viribus querebantur, simul in suam excusationem, et adventantium robur per adulationem attollentes, ne ut victi et ignavi despectarentur. Et quamquam plus virium, prope duplicatus legionum auxiliorumque numerus erat Valenti, studia tamen militum in Caecinam inclinabant, super benignitatem animi, qua promptior habebatur, etiam vigore aetatis, proceritate corporis et quodam inani favore. Hinc aemulatio ducibus; Caecina ut foedum ac maculosum, ille ut tumidum ac vanum inridebant. Sed condito odio eandem utilitatem fovere, crebris epistolis, sine respectu veniae, probra Othoni objectantes, cum duces partium Othonis quamvis uberrima conviciorum in Vitellium materia abstinerent. Sane, ante utriusque exitum, quo egregiam Otho famam, Vitellius flagitiosissimam meruere, minus Vitellii ignavae voluptates quam Othonis flagrantissimae libidines timebantur. Addiderat huic terrorem atque odium caedes Galbae: contra illi initium belli

CH. XXX. 2 **tanto pauciores**] Than Valens' army, not than Otho's. Caecina had 30,000 men, Valens 40,000 (i. 61. 2).

3 **legionum auxiliorumque**] As Valens had not two whole legions to Caecina's one, we are probably to take this as meaning 'nearly twice as many legionary and auxiliary troops' (see on 22. 1), the *Germanorum auxilia* of i. 61. 3 being irregular troops, like the Pannonians of 14. 3, and not reckoned among the disciplined *auxilia*, here coupled with the legionaries. These would make the gross totals of the two armies less unequal than their effective strength.

quodam inani favore] *Inanis* means less 'groundless' or 'unsubstantial,' than 'resting on unsubstantial grounds,' viz., the rather hollow reputation for generosity,

and the idle attraction of good looks. Notice the position of the pronoun, which is almost always interposed between the epithet and the substantive; when arranged as here (cf. Cic. *de Or.* iii. 12. 44) the sense seems to undergo an untranslatable modification.

4 **foedum ac maculosum**] Tacitus is fond of combining the two epithets, as i. 7. 2, which explains the precise force, *Ann.* xiii. 33. 3.

5 **duces**] The soldiers did not, 21. 7. Tacitus seems to think the abstinence suspicious (cf. iii. 9. 5), and goes on to explain that no thoughtful men were hearty in Otho's cause.

CH. XXXI. 1 **flagrantissimae**] He was twenty years younger, else Vitellius' character had been no better in his time, i. 74. 2.

nemo inputabat. Vitellius (ventre et gula) sibi inhonestus, Otho luxū, saevitiā, audaciā, rei publicae exitiosior ducebatur.

(Conjunctis Caecinae ac Valentis copiis) nulla ultra (penes 3 Vitellianos) mora quin totis viribus certarent. Otho consultavit, trahi bellum an fortunam experiri placeret. Tunc 4 Suetonius Paulinus dignum famā suā ratus, quā nemo illa tempestate militaris rei callidior habebatur, [de toto genere belli censere,] ‘festinationem hostibus, moram ipsis utilem’ 32 disseruit: ‘Exercitum Vitellii universum advenisse, nec multum virium a tergo, quoniam Galliae tumeant, et deserere Rhēni ripam, inrupturis tam infestis nationibus, non conducatur. Britannicum militem (hoste et mari) distineri; Hispanias armis 2 non ita redundare; provinciam Narbonensem incursu classis, et adverso praelio contremuisse; clausam Alpibus, et nullo maris subsidio, transpadanam Italiam, atque ipso transitu exercitus vastam; non frumentum usquam exercitui, nec exercitum (sine copiis) retineri posse. Jam Germanos, quod 3 genus militum apud hostes atrocissimum sit, tracto in aetatem bello, fluxis corporibus, mutationem soli caelique haud tolera-

2 **nemo inputabat** may mean either that Otho's crime, the murder of Galba, happened at Rome under men's eyes, while Vitellius' really more deadly crime was committed out of sight and out of mind; or that though men felt the heavy guilt of commencing the war, they acquitted Vitellius of it—he never would have had energy enough to do it out of his own head. The first view is supported by 55. 2, which shows how men at Rome forgot that Vitellius had revolted from Galba, not Otho.

4] See on i. 87. 4. Here the sense seems to be, that Paulinus thought it his business as the best general to state the case exhaustively, and leave the others nothing to add to his arguments.

CH. XXXII. 1 **tumeant**] The sense of the verb from which *tumultus* is derived; Liv. xxxi. 8 exhibits a transition between this and a more ordinary usage. Tacitus hardly meant to credit Suetonius with foreseeing the serious revolt that ensued, but makes him refer to the dissensions noticed in i. 51, 63-5.

2 **hoste**] Cf. i. 9. 3.

Hispanias] There was only one legion there.

clausam Alpibus] It was now only April, so Vitellius' forces would find the passage easier than Caecina's had: but he is speaking of supplies, not reinforcements.

3 **Germanos . . . haud toleranturos**] Suggested to Paulinus or to Tacitus by the memory of the old

turos. Multa bella, impetu valida, per taedia et moras evanuisse. Contra ipsis omnia opulenta et fida, Pannoniam, 4 Moesiam, Delmatiam, Orientem, cum integris exercitibus, Italiam et caput rerum urbem, senatumque et populum, nunquam obscura nomina, etsi aliquando obumbrentur; publicas privatasque opes et immensam pecuniam, inter civiles discordias ferro validiorem; corpora militum aut Italiae sueta aut aestibus. Objacere flumen Padum, tutas viris murisque 5 urbes; e quibus nullam hosti cessuram Placentiae defensione exploratum. Proinde duceret bellum. Paucis diebus quartam 6 decimam legionem, magna ipsam fama, cum Moesiaticis copiis adfore: tum rursus deliberaturum, et, si praelium placuisset, 33 auctis viribus certaturos.' Accedebat sententiae Paulini Marius Celsus; idem placere Annio Gallo, paucos ante dies lapsu equi adflicto, missi qui consilium ejus sciscitarentur rettulerant. Otho pronus ad decertandum; frater ejus Titianus, 2 et praefectus praetorii Proculus, imperitia properantes, fortunam et deos et numen Othonis adesse consiliis, adfore conatibus testabantur. Neu quis obviam ire sententiae auderet, in 3 adulationem concesserant. Postquam pugnari placitum, inter-

Gallic wars; but experience now justified the opinion, 90. 2.

4 **nunquam obscura nomina**] Contrast i. 55. 4: that is the sentiment of the cynical historian, this of the pedantically loyal soldier; cf. also i. 84, which suggests that there is a touch of flattery in the choice of the topic.

5 **Objacere**] He would have used the fut. inf. if there had been any manageable form for expressing it: they were now on the enemy's side of the Po, but his proposal, *duceret bellum*, involved falling back behind it.

6 **cum Moesiaticis copiis**] Three legions (85. 1.) who had already reached Aquileia (*ib.* ii. 46. 6).

CH. XXXIII. 1, 2] It seems clear

that it was simply suicidal to refuse to wait for the forces from Moesia: it does not appear that any suspicion of their loyalty was either felt or deserved. Otho seems to have acted merely in the spirit of a gambler,—perhaps a more respectable one than that of a mere debauchee, but less akin than Tacitus thinks to that of a hero.

2 **numen**] 'The genius,' C. and B. The word shows the strength, and the context the limits, of the feeling which showed itself in the deification of emperors.

3 **Neu quis . . . concesserant**] Titianus and Proculus had supported their view on grounds that their opponents would not venture to attack, — 'taken refuge in flattery,' C. and B.

esse pugnae imperatorem an seponi melius foret dubitavere. Paulino et Celso jam non adversantibus, ne principem objectare 4 periculis viderentur, iidem illi deterioris consilii auctores perpulere ut Brixellum concederet, ac, dubiis praeliorum exemptus, summae rerum et imperii se ipsum reservaret. Is 5 primus dies Othonianas partes adflixit. Namque et cum ipso praetoriarum cohortium et speculatorum equitumque valida manus discessit, et remanentium fractus animus, quando suspecti duces, et Otho, cui uni apud militem fides, dum et ipse nonnisi militibus credit, imperia ducum *in* incerto reliquerat.

- 34 Nihil eorum Vitellianos fallebat, crebris, ut in civili bello, transfugiis : et exploratores, cura diversa sciscitandi, sua non occultabant. Quieti intentique Caecina ac Valens, quando 2 hostis imprudentia rueret, quod loco sapientiae est, alienam stultitiam opperiebantur, inchoato ponte transitum Padi simulantibus adversus obpositam gladiatorum manum, ac ne ipsorum miles segne otium tereret. Naves pari inter se spatio, validis 3 utrimque trabibus connexae, adversum in flumen dirigebantur, jactis super ancoris, quae firmitatem pontis continerent. Sed ancorarum funes non extenti fluitabant, ut, augescente flumine,

4 **deterioris consilii** probably refers to their former advice, though suggesting that they still took the wrong side.

5 **in incerto]** He named no commander-in-chief : the *jus imperii* of 40. 2 refers to Otho's message, not to Titianus and Proculus having formal authority to override Celsus and Paulinus. 39. 1, 2 intimates that the nominal authority of the latter stood higher, though the former had more real power.

CH. XXXIV. 1 **diversa]** On the *opposite* side : so *diversam aciem*, *Ann.* xiii. 57. 3.

2 **quando . . . rueret]** Co-ordinate with *alienam stultitiam*, 'waited

to see when the enemy would fall blindly upon them, (waiting for) another man's folly, which serves the purposes of wisdom.'

adversus . . . ac ne . . .] They did not seriously mean to cross the river, but they did seriously want 'to encounter the troop of gladiators opposed to them, and to prevent their own soldiers,' etc.

3 **super]** Or. on the whole thinks this equivalent to *insuper*,—the anchors served, *as well as* the beams, to direct the ships up stream. The alternative of course is to suppose that it means the anchors were thrown up stream—as no doubt they were in any case.

inoffensus ordo navium attolleretur. Claudebat pontem 4
 inposita turris et in extremam navem educta, unde tormentis
 ac machinis hostes propulsarentur. Othoniani in ripa turrim
 35 struxerant, saxaque et faces jaculabantur. Et erat insula
 amne medio, in quam gladiatores, navibus molientes, Germani
 nando praelabebantur. Ac forte plures transgressos, completis
 Liburnicis, per promptissimos gladiatorum Macer adgreditur.
 Sed neque ea constantia gladiatoribus ad praelia quae militibus; 2
 nec perinde nutantes e navibus quam stabili gradu e ripa
 volnera dirigebant. Et cum variis trepidantium inclinationibus 3
 mixti remiges propugnatoresque turbarentur, desilire in vada
 ultro Germani, retentare puppes, scandere foros, aut comminus
 mergere. Quae cuncta in oculis utriusque exercitus, quanto 4
 laetiora Vitellianis, tanto acrius Othoniani causam auctorem-
 36 que cladis detestabantur. Et praelium quidem, abreptis quae
 supererant navibus, fuga diremptum: Macer *ad* exitium posce-
 batur. Jamque vulneratum eminus lancea strictis gladiis 2
 invaserant, cum intercurso tribunorum centurionumque pro-
 tegitur. Nec multo post Vestricius Spurrina jussu Othonis, 3
 relicto Placentiae modico praesidio, cum cohortibus subvenit.
 Dein Flavium Sabinum, consulem designatum, Otho rectorem 4

augescente . . . attolleretur]

The river might be expected to rise, when the snows of the Alps melted. It was the spring flood of the Danube, that almost ruined Napoleon at Aspern, by sweeping away *his* bridge of boats.

4 **Claudebat . . . educta]** 'The bridge was terminated by a tower placed on it, carried as far as the furthest ship.' *Educta* would naturally mean 'raised, reared,' but we should then have *ex extrema nave*, besides that there would be no real distinction of sense from *inposita*. So the word is used of length, not height, in v. 18. i.

CH. XXXV. 1 **molientes** merely serves to contrast their tardy

movement with the agility of the Germans.

praelabebantur] There is a certain zeugma; the word applies to both parties in the sense 'tried to get first over the water there,' to the Germans in the sense 'got there first.'

2 **volnera dirigebant]** The use of the abstract word is poetical, *Aen.* x. 139.

3 **comminus mergere]** Catching hold of the gunwales, and forcing them under water by their weight and strength.

4 **auctorem cladis]** Macer.

CH. XXXVI. 3 **cohortibus]** Praetorian.

4 **consulem designatum]** i. 77. 4. Tacitus thinks the mention of his

copiis misit quibus Macer praefuerat, laeto milite ad mutationem ducum, et ducibus ob crebras seditiones tam infestam militiam aspernantibus.

- 37 Invenio apud quosdam auctores pavore belli, seu fastidio utriusque principis, quorum flagitia ac dedecus apertiore in dies fama noscebantur, dubitâsse exercitus num, posito certamine, vel ipsi in medium consultarent, vel senatui permetterent legere imperatorem. Atque eo duces Othonianos spatium ac moras suasisse, praecipua spe Paulini, quod vetustissimus consularium, et militia clarus, gloriam nomenque Britannicis expeditionibus meruisset. Ego ut concesserim apud paucos 2 tacito voto quietem pro discordia, bonum et innocentem principem pro pessimis ac flagitiosissimis expetiturum, ita neque Paulinum, qua prudentia fuit, sperâsse corruptissimo saeculo tantam volgi moderationem reor, ut qui pacem belli amore turbaverant, bellum pacis caritate deponerent; neque aut exercitus linguis moribusque dissonos in hunc consensum potuisse coalescere, aut legatos ac duces, magna ex parte 3 luxus, egestatis, scelerum sibi conscios, nisi pollutum obstrictumque meritis suis principem passuros. Vetus ac jam pridem insita mortalibus potentiae cupido cum imperii magnitudine

office distinguishes him sufficiently from Vespasian's brother, the prefect of the city, whose office kept him in Rome, where we find him in 55. 2, three days after Otho's death, while his namesake was arranging his capitulation (51. 3).

CH. XXXVII. 1] Tacitus is not quite sure that the story is altogether unfounded, 41. 1, 2.

2 *praecipua spe Paulini*] 'Paulinus being especially urged by hope,'—his personal hopes, and, in consequence, his zeal for the measure being highest, *not* the hopes reposed in him by others.

vetustissimus consularium] Except Titianus, who of course would be set aside if his brother were.

Moreover, Paulinus was not improbably older than he, though not officially his senior.

militia clarus] He had served with credit in Africa as well as in Britain.

3 *amore . . . caritate*] A wild passion contrasted with a sober and reasonable affection.

linguis] Historically significant, as showing the importance as well as the large number of Germans in Vitellius' army, and how slightly they were Romanized.

pollutum] Ritter and Or. want to connect this, as well as *obstrictum*, with *meritis*, 'one under the stain and the obligation of services received from them.'

CH. XXXVIII. 1 *potentiae*]

adolevit erupitque. Nam rebus modicis aequalitas facile habebatur: sed ubi, subacto orbe et aemulis urbibus regibusve excisis, securas opes concupiscere vacuum fuit, prima inter patres plebemque certamina exarsere. Modo turbulenti tribuni, modo consules praevalidi, et in urbe ac foro tentamenta civilium bellorum; mox e plebe infima G. Marius et nobilium saevissimus Lucius Sulla victam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt. Post quos Gn. Pompeius occultior, non melior. Et nunquam postea nisi de principatu quaesitum. Non discessere ab armis in Pharsalia ac Philippis civium legiones: nedum Othonis ac Vitellii exercitus sponte positori bellum fuerint. Eadem illos deum ira, eadem hominum rabies, eadem scelerum causae in discordiam egere. Quod singulis velut ictibus transacta sunt bella, ignavia principum factum est. Sed me veterum novorumque morum reputatio longius tulit: nunc ad rerum ordinem venio.

- 39 Profecto Brixellum Othone honor imperii penes Titianum fratrem, vis ac potestas penes Proculum praefectum. Celsus et Paulinus, cum prudentia eorum nemo uteretur, inani nomine ducum alienae culpae praetendebantur. Tribuni centurion-

Tacitus is probably not wrong in seeing, in this very Roman word, the key to Roman history. The men charged *crimine regni affectandi*, from Cassius to the Gracchi, were all doubtless guilty of *potentiae cupido*, which in a republic was treasonable.

2 facile habebatur] 'Was easily maintained' expresses the force of the tense: the verb is as neutral in sense as possible.

aemulis urbibus regibusve] The contest with Carthage and with the kings of Macedonia and Syria are conceived as the turning point in Roman history. Perhaps the conquest of Syracuse, Corinth, etc., is also referred to in *urbibus*; it is scarcely likely that he ranks Nu-

mantia with Carthage, like Cic. *de Am.* 3. 11.

3 et . . . bellorum] 'It was in the capital and the forum that we first essayed civil wars,' C. and B. He refers to the riots in which the Gracchi were killed, and the rising of Saturninus.

5 Othonis ac Vitellii exercitus] The former included gladiators, the latter was largely composed of German barbarians; hence the antithesis to *civium legiones*. They had not the same motive (sense of common patriotism) as the earlier armies for abandoning the war, and they had the same for continuing it as prevailed even with the others.

6 bella] The wars of *our* times. It is curious that here Otho is

esque ambigui, quod, spretis melioribus, deterrimi valebant. Miles alacer ; qui tamen jussa ducum interpretari quam exsequi mallet. Promoveri ad quartum a Bedriaco castra placuit, 4 adeo imperite ut, quanquam verno tempore anni et tot circum amnibus, penuria aquae fatigarentur. Ibi de praelio dubitatum, 5 Othone per literas flagitante ut maturarent, militibus ut imperator pugnae adesset poscentibus. Plerique copias trans Padum 6 agentes acciri postulabant. Nec perinde dijudicari potest quid optimum factu fuerit, quam pessimum fuisse quod factum 40 est. Non ut ad pugnam sed ad bellandum profecti, confluentes Padi et Adduae fluminum, sedecim inde milium spatio distantes, petebant. Celso et Paulino abnuentibus militem 2 itinere fessum, sarcinis gravem, obicere hosti, non admissuro quo minus expeditus et vix quattuor milia passuum progressus, aut incompositos in agmine, aut dispersos et vallum molientes adgrederetur, Titianus et Proculus, ubi consiliis vincerentur, ad jus imperii transibant. Aderat sane citus equo Numida 3 cum atrocibus mandatis, quibus Otho, increpita ducum

blamed for what elsewhere is considered his one title to glory.

CH. XXXIX. 3 *interpretari*] 'To impute motives.'

4 *quartum*] sc. *lapidem*. We have the same ellipsis, sup. 24. 3. The distances in Plutarch are not exactly the same, while his narrative presents even verbal coincidences with Tacitus ; probably both used the same authorities, but Tacitus knew the ground better.

CH. XL. 1 *ad bellandum*] 'For a campaign,' as though the object were simply to get a good day's march forward, with nothing to do at the end of it. It is strange that some commentators of name try to make it = *ad debellandum*.

2 *non admissuro*, etc.] 'Who would not commit such a blunder as not to fall on them, himself unencumbered and after a march of

scarcely four miles, while they were either,' etc.

vix quattuor milia] They were therefore encamped a mile from the friendly (iii. 32. 3) town of Cremona, which is five miles from the mouth of the Adda. The Othonians knew the exact situation of the enemy, from the skirmishing across the river of c. 34 sq.

jus imperii] See on 33 fin. *Sane* in the next sentence explains that their plea was not ill founded. But no doubt before the Numidian arrived, they had appealed to Otho's desires expressed at the council of war, 32. 2.

3 *Numida*] Probably not an auxiliary trooper, but a slave of Otho : the commentators prove from Seneca and Martial that African outriders were part of the fashionable state of a wealthy Roman.

segnitia, rem in discrimen mitti jubebat, aeger mora et spei inpatiens.

- 4¹ Eodem die ad Caecinam operi pontis intentum duo praetoriarum cohortium tribuni, colloquium ejus postulantes, venerunt. Audire condiciones ac reddere parabat, cum praecipites exploratores adesse hostem nuntiavere. Interruptus 2 tribunorum sermo; eoque incertum fuit, insidias an prodicionem vel aliquod honestum consilium coeptaverint. Caecina, 3 dimissis tribunis, reiectus in castra, datum jussu Fabii Valentis pugnae signum et militem in armis invenit. Dum legiones de ordine agminis sortiuntur, equites prorupere; et, mirum dictu, a paucioribus Othonianis, quo minus in vallum inpingerentur, Italicae legionis virtute deterriti sunt. Ea, strictis mucronibus, redire pulsos et pugnam resumere coëgit. Disposita Vitellianarum legionum acies sine trepidatione: etenim, quamquam vicino hoste, aspectus armorum densis arbustis prohibebatur. Apud Othonianos pavidi duces, miles ducibus infensus, mixta 6 vehicula et lixae, et, praeruptis utrimque fossis, via quieto quoque agmini angusta. Circumsistere alii signa sua, quaerere

spei] 'Expectancy:' not so rare in a neutral sense, 'expectation,' but seldom without a gen. or other indication of the thing expected.

CH. XLI. 2 an . . . vel] 'Whether their object was a snare for him or a betrayal of Otho—or some honourable proposal,' such as that mentioned in c. 37. The two former are conceived as alternatives, one as likely as the other—then the third is thrown in, as an alternative to both.

4 a paucioribus Othonianis] Of course dependent on *inpingerentur*: compare note on 15. 3. A translator can only maintain the order by a complete change of construction: 'and, strange to say, the Othonians, in inferior force, were on the point of dashing them against the ramparts, had they not been

kept off,' etc. The *Othoniani* mentioned were the *duae alae* of iii. 28. For the hyperbolical sense of *inpingere*, cf. Virg. *Aen.* v. 805.

5 densis arbustis] The trees being doubtless planted in a quincunx, there were no avenues down which there was an uninterrupted view: moreover the vine-branches were trained from tree to tree, though perhaps at this season they would not interrupt the sight as much as they did (25. 3) the advance.

6 mixta . . . fossis] The *agmen* kept along the high-road from choice, though they would have liked it wider; the *vehicula* could not get on off it, for though there were no vineyards (43. 1, *potenti campo*) on one side of the road, the soft rich soil, only kept by deep

alii; incertus undique clamor adcurrentium, vocitantium. Ut 7
 cuique audacia vel formido, in primam postremamve aciem
 42 prorumpebant aut relabebantur. Attonitas subito terrore
 mentes falsum gaudium in languorem vertit, repertis qui de-
 scivisse a Vitellio exercitum ementirentur. Is rumor, ab explo- 2
 ratoribus Vitellii dispersus, an in ipsa Othonis parte seu dolo
 seu forte surrexerit, parum compertum. Omisso pugnae ardore
 Othoniani ultro salutavere; et hostili murmure excepti, pleris-
 que suorum ignaris quae causa salutandi, metum proditionis
 fecere. Tum incubuit hostium acies, integris ordinibus, 3
 robore et numero praestantior: Othoniani, quanquam dispersi,
 pauciores, fessi, praelium tamen acriter sumpserunt. Et per 4
 locos arboribus ac vineis inpeditos non una pugnae facies:
 comminus eminus, catervis et cuneis concurrebant. In aggere
 viae conlato gradu corporibus et umbonibus niti, omisso
 pilorum jactu, gladiis et securibus galeas loricasque perrum-
 pere: noscentes inter se, ceteris conspicui, in eventum totius
 43 belli certabant. Forte inter Padum viamque, patenti campo,

drains from being swampy, was not fit for them. In consequence, they could not be got out of the way when the men spread out into line, besides that the latter had to bridge or jump the ditches.

incertus undique clamor] Instead of the cheers of men going into action.

7 vel . . . ve . . . aut] Varied for variety's sake; the three pairs manifestly correspond to each other.

CH. XLII. 1 in languorem] Their first feeling was 'We are surprised,' their second, 'It's all right, they will not fight us,' their third, 'There is no knowing what is coming: we can't help it.'

2 Omisso] 'Letting the opportunity pass for' . . . , just like *omisso pilorum jactu* in § 4.

3 dispersi] Opposed to *integris ordinibus*, *pauciores* to *numero*, and *fessi* to *robore*.

4 per locos . . . inpeditos] He describes the character of the encounter all along the line, from north to south.

catervis et cuneis] The Germans in the former, the legionaries in the latter. The two formations do not differ very widely—each is a column charging with the broadsword; but the *cuneus* is apparently the deeper, and certainly the closer, and characteristic of disciplined troops as the other is of barbarians.

in eventum totius belli] 'They were fighting to decide the whole issue of the war' (C. and B.)—rather describing their feelings than the actual result. The Vitellians apparently won, 44. 1, but if the Othonians had, we cannot say that this would have compensated for their flank being turned.

CH. XLIII. 1 Forte . . . campo] See on 41. 6. Had the ground

duae legiones congressae sunt, pro Vitellio unetvicesima, cui cognomen Rapaci, vetere gloria insignis; e parte Othonis prima Adjutrix, non ante in aciem deducta, sed ferox et novi decoris avida. Primani, stratis unetvicesimanorum principiis, 2 aquilam abstulere; quo dolore accensa legio et inpulit rursus primanos, interfecto Orfidio Benigno legato, et plurima signa vexillaque ex hostibus rapuit. A parte alia propulsa quinta- 3 norum impetu tertia decima legio; circumventi plurium adkursu quartadecimani. Et ducibus Othonis jam pridem profugis, Caecina ac Valens subsidiis suos firmabant. Accessit 4 recens auxilium, Varus Alfenius cum Batavis, fusa gladiatorum manu, quam navibus transvectam obpositae cohortes in ipso flumine trucidaverant. Ita victores latus hostium invecti.

44 Et media acie perrupta fugere passim Othoniani, Bedriacum

been cleared by an inundation (like that of Virg. *Georg.* i. 481-3) or left bare for fear of one, or was it even then below the level of the embanked river, and so too damp for vines?

vetere gloria] They had served through Germanicus' campaigns, and apparently had been on the German frontier ever since. No doubt they had also taken part in the defeat of Vindex.

non ante . . . deducta] They were the legion enrolled from the fleet—the *classica* of i. 31. 4, 7; see ii. 11. 4, where they start from Rome.

2 principiis] What would in the old republican army have been called the *hastati* and *principes*—the *antepilani* of Liv. viii. 8. Though Marius had abolished the distinction of arms and seniority between the three divisions of the legion, there remained not only the tradition of fighting in three lines, but the names of the bodies, as giving title to their respective centurions. Hence we find the eagle kept in its

old place—behind all except what used to be the reserve; but each *ordo* had a *signum* of its own; cf. iii. 22. 5.

3 quintanorum] Vitellian, i. 55. 2, etc.

quartadecimani] The most distinguished engaged on Otho's side, 11. 2.; but it was only their *vexillarii* who had yet come up (*ib.* and 66. 1.) The First and they are, in iii. 13. 5, reckoned as *unicum Othoniani exercitus robur*, so we are probably to understand that they were successful until surrounded and hopelessly outnumbered.

firmabant] The force of the tense is 'were on the spot, doing general's work.'

4 navibus transvectum] They saw the battle begun, and probably the men at work on the bridge drawn off; but the Batavians (who were doubtless included among the *Germani* of c. 35) had been left to watch them, and were set at liberty by their rash advance.

CH. XLIV. 1 **media acie]** On the road, and a little north of it.

petentes. Immensum id spatium ; obstructae strage corporum viae. Quo plus caedis fuit : neque enim civilibus bellis capti in praedam vertuntur. Suetonius Paulinus et Licinius Proculus ² diversis itineribus castra vitavere. Vedium Aquilam, tertiae decimae legionis legatum, irae militum inconsultus pavor obtulit. Multo adhuc die vallum ingressus clamore seditiosorum et fugacium circumstrepitur ; non probris, non manibus abstinens ; desertorem proditoremque increpant, nullo proprio crimine ejus, sed more volgi suum quisque flagitium aliis objectantes. Titianum et Celsum nox juvit, dispositis jam ³ excubiis compressisque militibus, quos Annii Gallus consilio, precibus, auctoritate flexerat, ne super cladem adversae pugnae suismet ipsi caedibus saevirent : sive finis bello venisset seu resumere arma mallent, unicum victis in consensu levamentum. Ceteris fractus animus : praetorianus miles non virtute se sed ⁴ proditione victum fremebat. Ne Vitellianis quidem incruentam fuisse victoriam, pulso equite, rapta legionis aquila ; superesse cum ipso Othone militum quod trans Padum fuerit ; venire Moesicas legiones ; magnam exercitus partem Bedriaci remansisse : hos certe nondum victos, et si ita ferret, honestius in acie perituros. His cogitationibus truces aut pavidi, ⁵

Immensum id spatium] Sixteen miles, according to Tacitus' reckoning. Dio gives the number of the men killed in all the actions at 40,000 *ἐκατέπρωθεν*, which one must force to mean 'on both sides' if it is to be credible, as Valens and Caecina had only 70,000 before they crossed the Alps, and Otho less.

2 Vedium Aquilam] He retained not only his life, but his command, iii. 7. 1.

inconsultus pavor] Made him, like the common soldiers, fly to the camp at once, 'while it was still full daylight.' The two generals, with more discretion if not more

valour, fled anywhere *but* to the camp.

flagitium] According to Plutarch, the Praetorians (whom Tacitus has not mentioned at all) behaved really badly ; cf. iii. 24. 3.

3 Gallus] He had stayed at Bedricum since his accident. He was the only general clearly free from responsibility for the defeat.

4 praetorianus miles, etc.] Of course not inconsistent with Plutarch's statement—indeed, perhaps, accounted for by it. They had not been beaten, but ran away without knowing why, and thought it must be somebody's fault.

superesse . . . fuerit] Tacitus

extrema desperatione ad iram sæpius quam in formidinem stimulabantur.

45 At Vitellianus exercitus ad quintum a Bedriaco lapidem consedit, non ausis ducibus eadem die obpugnationem castrorum; simul voluntaria deditio sperabatur. Sed expeditis, et 2 tantum ad praelium egressis, munimentum fuere arma et victoria. Postera die, haud ambigua Othoniani exercitus 3 voluntate, et qui ferociores fuerant ad paenitentiam inclinantibus, missa legatio; nec apud duces Vitellianos dubitatum quominus pacem concederent. Legati paulisper retenti. Ea res 4 haesitationem attulit ignaris adhuc an impetrâssent. Mox remissa legatione patuit vallum. Tum victi victoresque in lacrimas effusi, sortem civilium armorum misera laetitia detestantes. Isdem tentoriis alii fratrum, alii propinquorum volnera 5 fovebant. Spes et praemia in ambiguo, certa funera et luctus, nec quisquam adeo mali expers, ut non aliquam mortem maereret. Requisitum Orfidii legati corpus honore solito 6 crematur; paucos necessarii ipsorum sepelivere; ceterum volgus super humum relictum.

46 Opperiebatur Otho nuntium pugnae nequaquam trepidus, et consilii certus. Maesta primum fama, dein profugi e praelio perditas res patefaciunt. Non expectavit militum ardor 2 vocem imperatoris. Bonum haberet animum jubebant: super-

calls them a *valida manus*, 33. 5.

CH. XLV. 1 *ad quintum*, etc.] They took a shorter day's march after the battle than the Othonians had before it. But the fact that there was time for two such marches proves that the fighting cannot have lasted very long.

2 *Sed*] The thought is, 'But instead of surrendering, the Othonians might, if they could, have surprised them;' then he adds, 'They trusted to what proved a sufficient security against it.'

arma may be meant to suggest,

'the Othonians had thrown theirs away.'

3 *Postera die*] After Otho's death was known, or because he had neglected to rally them? Plutarch's account is somewhat different: he says that Caecina rode up to the camp with friendly gestures, which produced an immediate surrender.

4 *misera*] Explained by the next two sentences.

6 *ceterum . . . relictum*] See c. 70.

CH. XLVI. 1 *consilii certus*]

esse adhuc novas vires, et ipsos extrema passuros ausurosque. Neque erat adulatio : ire in aciem, excitare partium fortunam 3 furore quodam et instinctu flagrabant. Qui procul adstiterant, tendere manus, et proximi prensare genua, promptissimo Plotio Firmo. Is praetorii praefectus identidem orabat ne fidissimum 4 exercitum, ne optime meritos milites desereret : majore animo tolerari adversa quam relinqui ; fortes et strenuos etiam contra fortunam insistere spei, timidos et ignavos ad desperationem formidine properare. Quas inter voces ut flexerat vultum 5 aut induraverat Otho, clamor et gemitus. Nec praetoriani 6 tantum, proprius Othonis miles, sed praemissi e Moesia eandem obstinationem adventantis exercitus, legiones Aquileiam ingressas nuntiabant ; ut nemo dubitet potuisse renovari
 47 bellum atrox, lugubre, incertum victis et victoribus. Ipse
 . aversus a consiliis belli, ‘Hunc,’ inquit, ‘animum, hanc virtutem vestram ultra periculis obicere nimis grande vitae meae pretium puto. Quanto plus spei ostenditis, si vivere placeret, tanto pulchrior mors erit. Experti in vicem sumus 2 ego ac fortuna. Nec tempus computaveritis : difficilius est temperare felicitati, qua te non putes diu usurum. Civile 3 bellum a Vitellio coepit, et ut de principatu certaremus armis,

‘Resolved what to do’ in case either of victory or defeat.

2 *novas vires*] The legions from Moesia,—as it is opposed to *ipsos*.

3 *furore quodam et instinctu*] A good instance of what is most legitimately called *ἐν διὰ δύοιν*—two nearly synonymous words, placed as co-ordinate, and mutually illustrative. This artifice is less frequent in Tacitus than Cicero, who often uses it to supplement the poverty of the Latin language in abstract terms.

3, 4 *Plotio . . . praefectus*] i. 46. 1, colleague of Proculus, who precipitated the battle, *ib.* 2.

5 *clamor*] ‘Applause,’ *ut flexerat vultum*.

6 *proprius Othonis miles*] See

i. 23 sqq. ; the whole passage, especially *legionum quoque* (26. 1), implies without clearly stating that Otho’s popularity began with the praetorians and spread to the rest.

CH. XLVII. 2 *Experti . . . fortuna*] ‘Fortune and I now know each other,’ C. and B. ; he has felt her best and worst, and she has displayed the best (and worst, 50. 2) features of his character.

Nec tempus, etc.] The sense is, ‘I have known the best gift of fortune in being an emperor ; do not say that it is no glory to be an emperor for three months, for to have been a *good* emperor for three months is all the greater glory, being the rarer.’

initium illic fuit : ne plus quam semel certemus, penes me exemplum erit. Hinc Othonem posteritas aestimet. Fruetur 4 Vitellius fratre, conjuge, liberis : mihi non ultione neque solatiis opus est. Alii diutius imperium tenuerint : nemo tam fortiter reliquerit. An ego tantum Romanae pubis, tot egregios exercitus sterni rursus et rei publicae eripi patiar? Eat hic 5 mecum animus, tanquam perituri pro me fueritis. Sed este superstites. Nec diu moremur, ego incolumitatem vestram, vos constantiam meam. Plura de extremis loqui pars ignaviae 6 est. Praecipuum destinationis meae documentum habete, quod de nemine queror : nam incusare deos vel homines, ejus 48 est qui vivere velit.' Talia locutus, ut cuique aetas aut dignitas, comiter appellatos, irent propere neu remanendo iram victoris asperarent, juvenes auctoritate, senes precibus movebat, placidus ore, intrepidus verbis, intempestivas suorum lacrimas coercens. Dari naves ac vehicula abeuntibus jubet ; 2 libellos epistolasque studio erga se aut in Vitellium contumeliis insignes abolet ; pecunias distribuit, parce, nec ut periturus.

4 **fratre, conjuge, liberis]** He does not mention his mother, who was also at Rome, i. 75. 3, 4.

non ultione neque solatiis] Sometimes taken as almost a hendiadys, 'The consolations of revenge ;' perhaps rather a transition to the next sentence, 'I have no need of revenge on my enemy, nor consolation for my short reign—the character of its end is consolation enough.'

Romanae pubis] See i. 84 sq., and note. In these words he treats them (*pubes* being a more poetical equivalent for *juventus*) as a civic force, able to appreciate patriotism ; then *exercitus* appeals to their professional military pride and sense of their value to the whole empire. Plutarch's version of Otho's speech is quite different ; but this sentiment is represented by his phrase, *καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοσούτων καὶ*

τοιούτων πολιτῶν ; as he also says, *παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τέκνα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ γυναῖκες*, perhaps the two historians had some materials which each worked into his fancy composition.

5 **Eat hic, etc.]** 'Let me die with the same feeling as if you were going' (not 'in the belief that you are willing') 'to die for me ; but do not die with me.'

Nec . . . meam] 'And now let me no longer hinder you from being safe' (as you will when I am dead and Vitellius has no rival), 'while you no longer delay my resolution,' by your entreaties, from being carried out in act.

6 **de nemine queror]** 'I ascribe the defeat neither to cowardice nor treachery, and do not complain of fortune.' It is the second supposition that he is most anxious to exclude.

CH. XLVIII. 2 **naves]** For crossing the Po.

Mox Salvium Cocceianum fratris filium, prima juventa, trepidum 3
 et maerentem ultro solatus est, laudando pietatem ejus, casti-
 gando formidinem : an Vitellium tam inmitis animi fore, ut pro
 incolumi tota domo ne hanc quidem sibi gratiam redderet?
 Mereri se festinato exitu clementiam victoris. Non enim 4
 ultima desperatione, sed poscente praelium exercitu, remisisse
 rei publicae novissimum casum. Satis sibi nominis, satis
 posteris suis nobilitatis quaesitum. Post Julios, Claudios, 5
 Servios, se primum in familiam novam imperium intulisse.
 Proinde erecto animo capesseret vitam, neu patrum sibi
 Othonem fuisse aut oblivisceretur unquam aut nimium memi-
 49 nisset. Post quae, dimotis omnibus, paulum requievit. Atque
 illum, supremas jam curas animo volutantem, repens tumultus
 avertit, nuntiata consternatione ac licentia militum. Namque
 abeuntibus exitium minitabantur, atrocissima in Verginium vi,
 quem clausa domo obsidebant. Increpitis seditionis auctori- 2
 bus, regressus vacavit abeuntium adloquiis, donec omnes
 inviolati digrederentur. Vesperascente die, sitim haustu

3 **Cocceianus]** Plutarch calls him Cocceius, which gives some presumption that he owed the name to adoption, not simply to inter-marriage. The *gens Cocceia* was not very large, and had not been long eminent, hence it is perhaps likely that the emperor Nerva had some traceable relationship to the family of Otho; this gives more point to 2 5. Cocceianus himself was put to death by Domitian for keeping his uncle's birthday.

pro incolumi, etc.] He had been included in Vitellius' threats of reprisals, i. 75. 3.

4 **remisisse rei publicae]** 'Had sacrificed to the public good his last chance.'

nobilitatis] In the technical Republican sense, transferred to the Empire as by Livy (i. 34. 7) to the primitive monarchy.

5 **Servios]** The common praenomen of the Patrician Sulpicii, as Appius was of the Claudii; it is almost treated as a gentile name, just as we get the *Appia via* by the side of the *Flaminia, Egnatia*, etc.; e.g. Hor. *Ep.* i. 18, 20, *Minuci via . . . an Appi.*

novam] Galba had, it should be remembered, a certain connexion with the Caesarian family, having been adopted by his stepmother Livia, a relation of the first Augusta. Far-fetched as this was, it seems to have counted for something with the soldiers, at the time of his proclamation.

capesseret vitam] Almost an unique expression in classical Latin for what we call 'entering on life.'

XLIX. 1 Verginium] See 51. 1, 68. 6, for the feeling of the army towards him. He outlived all such

gelidae aquae sedavit. Tum adlatis pugionibus, cum utrumque 3
pertentâset, alterum capiti subdidit. Et explorato jam pro-
fectos amicos, noctem quietam, utque adfirmatur, non insom-
nem egit. Luce prima in ferrum pectore incubuit. Ad 4
gemitum morientis ingressi liberti servique, et Plotius Firmus
praetorii praefectus unum vulnus invenere. Funus maturatum.
Ambitiosis id precibus petierat, ne amputaretur caput ludibrio
futurum. Tulere corpus praetoriae cohortes, cum laudibus et 5
lacrimis, vulnus manusque ejus exosculantes. Quidam militum 6
juxta rogam interfecere se, non noxa neque ob metum, sed
aemulatione decoris et caritate principis. Ac postea promisce 7
Bedriaci, Placentiae, aliisque in castris, celebratum id genus
mortis. Othoni sepulcrum exstructum est modicum et mansu- 8
rum. Hunc vitae finem habuit septimo et tricesimo aetatis
50 anno. Origo illi e municipio Ferentio, pater consularis, avus

dangers and temptations, 'to die at eighty-two of a fall in his study.

2 *gelidae* rather marks, according to Roman notions, his indifference to luxury, than his desire for even the simplest and commonest.

3 *incubuit*] He therefore did not quite justify Goethe's eulogy, who contrasts his deliberately stabbing himself with the common practice of falling on the sword. See the curious discussion of the casuistry or rather the etiquette of suicide, *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, Book xiii. p. 184. The *unum vulnus* of the next sentence, however, is no doubt to call attention to his self-command in directing the weapon; so Martial (vi. 32. 4), '*Fodit certa pectora nuda manu*;' contrast Plautius Silvanus, *Ann.* iv. 22. 4, and Messallina, *Ann.* xi. 38. 1.

4 *Ambitiosis*] Perhaps implies a certain condescension as well as earnestness in asking; so Cicero, *ad Fam.* iii. 7. 4, '*ambitiosius . . . quam dignitas mea postulat*,' while

id. ib. xiii. 1. 5 couples it with *in rogando molestus*.

6 *non noxa*] Some take 'not from a guilty conscience,' as though they were ashamed of their past treatment of Otho, others as illustrated by *oû metum*, 'not from offence given (to Vitellius) or fear of him.' The parallel passage in Plutarch (*οὐδὲν ἐκδήλως οὐτε πεπονθότες χρηστὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ τεθνηκότος*) would tempt one to take the sense of the subst. as illustrated by that of the adj. *obnoxius*, 'not that they were under any obligation' to Otho.

8 *modicum et mansurum*] With no inscription beyond his name. Suetonius says that Vitellius visited the place, and said, 'He deserved such a tomb.'

Hunc vitae finem] See on i. 49. 3. *septimo et tricesimo*] Strictly accurate; but he was within a few days of completing it.

CH. L. 1 *Ferentio*] So M., and there seems no doubt that the Etruscan town that the Salvii came

praetorius ; maternum genus inpar, nec tamen indecorum. Pueritia ac juventa, qualem monstravimus. Duobus facinori-
bus, altero flagitiosissimo, altero egregio, tantundem apud
posteros meruit bonae famae quantum malae. Ut conquirere 3
fabulosa et fictis oblectare legentium animos procul gravitate
coepti operis crediderim, ita volgatis traditisque demere fidem
non ausim. Die quo Bedriaci certabatur, avem invisitata 4
specie apud Regium Lepidum celebri luco consedissee incolae
memorant, nec deinde coetu hominum aut circumvolitantium
alium territam pulsamve, donec Otho se ipse interficeret ;
tum ablatam ex oculis ; et tempora reputantibus initium finem-
que miraculi cum Othonis exitu competisse.

- 51 In funere ejus novata luctu ac dolore militum seditio : nec
erat qui coërceret. Ad Verginium versi, modo ut reciperet
imperium, nunc ut legatione apud Caecinam ac Valentem
fungeretur, minitantes orabant. Verginius, per aversam domus 2
partem furtim degressus, inrumpentes frustratus est. Earum 3
quae Brixelli egerant cohortium preces Rubrius Gallus tulit,
et venia statim impetrata, concedentibus ad victorem per
Flavium Sabinum iis copiis quibus praefuerat.

from was properly called Ferentium or Ferentia, while Ferentinum is the name of the Hernican town well known to readers of Livy.

pater consularis] He was *consul suffectus* in A.D. 33.

maternum genus] His mother, Albia Terentia, is called by Suet. *splendida femina*—i.e. of an equestrian family.

2 qualem monstravimus] i. 13. 7.

Duobus . . . egregio] Of course the murder of Galba and of himself. The sentence is a good illustration of what *facinus* means—a single act, of marked character and decisive importance, whether for good or evil.

tantundem, etc.] See Martial's epigram already quoted, for a senti-

ment much the same as that of Tacitus. Juvenal, on the contrary, treats him as rake and fop to the last.

3] For the form of statement compare Liv. ix. 17. 1 ; though the sentiment is more like that of *id.* Praef. 5.

celebri] Much frequented by worshippers.

tempora reputantibus] One must remember they had no clocks to keep 'mean Roman time ;' so that there was no check on exaggeration of the closeness of the coincidence. For the construction of the partic. cf. iii. 8. 2 ; iv. 17. 5.

CH. LI. 1 **nec . . . coërceret]** As Otho had done while alive, 49. 1, 2.

3 **Flavium Sabinum]** 36. 4.

- 52 Posito ubique bello, magna pars senatus extremum discrimen adiit, profecta cum Othone ab urbe, dein Mutinae relictâ. Illuc adverso de praelio adlatum. Sed milites, ut falsum, 2 rumorem aspernantes, quod infensum Othoni senatum arbitrabantur, custodire sermones, voltum habitumque trahere in deterius; conviciis postremo ac probris causam et initium caedis quaerebant, cum alius insuper metus senatoribus instaret, ne, praevalidis jam Vitellii partibus, cunctanter excepisse victoriam crederentur. Ita trepidi, et utrinque anxii, 3 coeunt, nemo privatim expedito consilio, inter multos societate culpaetutior. Onerabat paventium curas ordo Mutinensis arma et pecuniam offerendo, appellabatque patres conscriptos
- 53 intempestivo honore. Notabile jurgium fuit, quo Licinius Caecina Marcellum Eprium ut ambigua disserentem invasit. Nec ceteri sententias aperiebant: sed invisum memoria delationum, expositumque ad invidiam, Marcelli nomen irritaverat

CH. LII. 1 magna pars senatus] i. 88. 2, 3.

2 quod . . . arbitrabantur] Compare i. 82. 2. We may perhaps see in the respective policies of Vitellius and Otho, the first symptoms of what became afterwards the main problem of Roman history—whether the emperor should be appointed by and rest on the Senate or the army—especially the Praetorians. But, by a curious irony, Vitellius was thrown into a false position, and had to rest (i. 74. 6) on the fact of his earlier proclamation by a mutinous army, while Otho (i. 84. 6-10) claimed to be the lawfully recognised head of the state, and champion of the city and constitution.

3 tutior agrees with *quisque*, to be supplied from *nemo*. So Hor. *Sat.* i. 1. 3.

ordo] A commoner term than *senatus* for the corporation of a municipal town; the individual

members were *decuriones*.

intempestivo honore] Because it threw on them the responsibility of deciding who was the real *princeps*. It was also a constitutional solecism: there was enough of a senate to meet at Rome (55. 3), and no meeting of senators elsewhere could assume the title; even the Pompeians, though a fair majority, had shrunk from it, and Livy (v. 46) is careful to make the appointment of Camillus as dictator, in the Gallic siege, quite regular in this respect.

CH. LIII. 1 quo] *Furgio invadere* would be a quite legitimate construction.

Marcellum Eprium] *Ann.* xvi. 22. 10, 28, etc., inf. iv. 6. 4 sqq.

Nec ceteri, etc.] Everybody else *ambigua disseruit* equally with Marcellus; but Caecina thought it worth while to attack him, however unreasonable the present plea.

Caecinam, ut novus adhuc, et in senatum nuper adscitus, magnis inimiciis claresceret. Moderatione meliorum dirempti. Et rediere omnes Bononiam, rursus consiliaturi; simul medio ² temporis plures nuntii sperabantur. Bononiae, divisus per ³ itinera qui recentissimum quemque percunctarentur, interrogatus Othonis libertus causam digressus, habere se suprema ejus mandata respondit; ipsum viventem quidem relictum, sed sola posteritatis cura et abruptis vitae blandimentis. Hinc ⁴ admiratio et plura interrogandi pudor; atque omnium animi ⁵⁴ in Vitellium inclinavere. Intererat consiliis frater ejus L. Vitellius, seque jam adulantibus offerebat, cum repente Coenus, libertus Neronis, atroci mendacio universos perculit, adfirmans superventu quartae decimae legionis, junctis a Brixello viribus, caesos victores, versam partium fortunam. Causa fingendi ² fuit, ut diplomata Othonis, quae neglegebantur, laetiore nuntio revalerent. Et Coenus quidem rapide in urbem vectus paucos post dies jussu Vitellii poenas luit. Senatorum pericu- ³ lum auctum, credentibus Othonianis militibus vera esse quae adferebantur. Intendebat formidinem, quod publici consilii

novus] From *adhuc* being used it is perhaps likely that the preceding word is explained by *in senatum nuper adscitus*, rather than standing for *novus homo* in the republican sense. We know nothing else of this Caecina: the Caecinae were a large Tuscan *gens* (said still to exist), and we cannot be certain that, even if he belonged to it and did not get the cognomen accidentally, he was in any practical sense related to the Vitellian general: the latter however is called Licinius in the *Fasti*.

2 rediere implies that it had been their last stage on their way from Rome.

3 divisus, if a dative, would mean that the senators themselves took up their stations; more probably an ablative, 'when they had posted men to ask.'

sola posteritatis cura] Illustrated by the next words, so that one may paraphrase, 'thinking of no pleasure but that of fame.'

4 atque suggests, as often, an *immediate* transition: so iii. 17. 3. Here perhaps there is a little sarcasm—they regarded Otho with silent respect, and abandoned all fear or allegiance for him.

CH. LIV. I L. Vitellius] i. 88. 2.

jam goes with *adulantibus* rather than *offerebat*, though no doubt it marks a change in his behaviour as well as theirs.

2 diplomata] A testimonial securing his rights to impress horses, etc., for his journey. Hence *rapide vectus* is sarcastic; he got his object of a quick conveyance to Rome, but had little cause to rejoice at it.

facie discessum Mutina, desertaeque partes forent. Nec ultra 4
in commune congressi sibi quisque consulere, donec missae
a Fabio Valente epistolae demerent metum. Et mors Othonis
quo laudabilior, eo velocius audita.

- 55 At Romae nihil trepidationis; Ceriales ludi ex more specta-
bantur. Ut cessisse Othonem, et a Flavio Sabino praefecto 2
urbis, quod erat in urbe militum, sacramento Vitellii adactum,
certi auctores in theatrum adtulerunt, Vitellio plausere;
populus cum lauru ac floribus Galbae imagines circum templa
tulit, congestis in modum tumuli coronis juxta lacum Curtii,
quem locum Galba moriens sanguine infecerat. In senatu 3
cuncta longis aliorum principatibus composita statim decer-
nuntur. Additae erga Germanicum exercitum laudes grates-
que, et missa legatio quae gaudio fungeretur. Recitatae Fabii 4
Valentis epistolae ad consules scriptae haud immoderate:

3 facie] 'Under the form,'—it was not simply that so many eminent individuals had thought Bononia a safer place than Mutina, but that they had formally resolved to set aside Otho's directions, and treat his reign as ended—hence *desertae partes*.

CH. LV. 1 Ceriales ludi] Occupied apparently from the twelfth to the fifteenth of April. But Ovid (*Fast.* iv. 309 sqq.) seems to place them on the seventh, while the news of Otho's death is said to have arrived on the nineteenth. If so, from the mention of the theatre, the games must have been carried on a little beyond the strict time.

2 cessisse] 'Retired from the scene;' the simple verb is especially appropriate to a voluntary death, though *cessisse vita* might have been used of a natural one. So Tacitus uses *concedere* more than once, *Ann.* iv. 38. 3, xiii. 30. 4.

Flavio Sabino praefecto urbis] See on 36. 4.

Galbae imagines] See on 31. 2 : compare also i. 44. 3, which seems to show, not only that men forgot the date of Vitellius's revolt, but that he had the sense to utilise the fact. Perhaps we are to infer that Galba had some real popularity with the unarmed citizens; did they respect a Roman noble of the old school, while their brothers who had enlisted in the praetorians resented the rigour of his discipline?

3 composita implies insincerity, as well as accumulation : so gaudio fungeretur] 'Do the business of congratulation;' it was a matter of routine, and by implication insincere.

4] So in iv. 4. 1 we are told that Mucianus was censured for writing to the senate under similar circumstances. That passage indicates what was the rule of etiquette broken by Valens; he was neither emperor, nor even a commander-in-chief of the republican pattern, and

56 *gratior Caecinae modestia fuit, quod non scripsisset. Ceterum Italia gravius atque atrocius quam bello adflictabatur. Dispersi per municipia et colonias Vitelliani spoliare, rapere, vi et stupris polluere. In omne fas nefasque avidi aut venales non sacro, non profano abstinebant. Et fuere qui inimicos suos 2 specie militum interficerent. Ipsique milites, regionum gnari, refertos agros, dites dominos in praedam aut, si repugnatum foret, ad excidium destinabant, obnoxiiis ducibus et prohibere non ausis. Minus avaritiae in Caecina, plus ambitionis: 3 Valens ob lucra et quaestus infamis, eoque alienae etiam culpa dissimulator. Jam pridem adtritis Italiae rebus, tantum 4 peditum equitumque, vis damnaeque et injuriae aegre tolerabantur.*

57 *Interim Vitellius, victoriae suae nescius, ut ad integrum bellum reliquas Germanici exercitus vires trahebat. Pauci veterum militum in hibernis relictis, festinatis per Gallias delectibus, ut remanentium legionum nomina supplerentur. Cura ripae Hordeonio Flacco permissa; ipse e Britannico 2 delectu octo milia sibi adjunxit. Et paucorum dierum iter progressus, prosperas apud Bedriacum res, ac morte Othonis*

so had no official business to report to them.

CH. LVI. 2 *specie militum*] 'Disguising themselves as soldiers,' not 'pretending that their enemies had been soldiers of Otho's,' as the latter had ceased to be treated as enemies. iv. 2. 3 is quite different, as in fact is stated in § 4.

3 *plus ambitionis*] So that he was especially *obnoxius*; he did not plunder himself, but winked at those who did, to please them, as much as Valens, for fear of their turning on him.

4 *tantum peditum equitumque*] Not merely in apposition to the words that follow: it was a burden to have so large an army quartered on the country (*equitum*, because

the horses' keep aggravated it), besides the further grievance that they behaved so badly.

CH. LVII. 1 *trahebat* implies a slow movement, as intimated by l. 61, fin.

nomina] Virtually 'skeletons,' 'cadres;' it is illustrated by *inania legionum nomina* in iv. 14, 5. though not exactly equivalent to it.

2 *delectu*] Or. wishes to translate '*élite*;' we have certainly heard nothing of a *delectus* there in the ordinary sense. But it is quite conceivable that Tacitus thinks this sentence enough to give us to understand that one was held in Britain simultaneously with that in Gaul. Vitellius had veterans from Britain with him, iii. 22. 2; but no instance

concidisse bellum, accepit. Vocata contione virtutem militum 3
laudibus cumulat. Postulante exercitu ut libertum suum
Asiaticum equestri dignitate donaret, inhonestam adulationem
conspicit. Dein mobilitate ingenii, quod palam abnuerat, 4
inter secreta convivii largitur, honoravitque Asiaticum anulis,
foedum Mancipium et malis artibus ambitiosum.

58 Isdem diebus accessisse partibus utramque Mauretanium,
interfecto procuratore Albino, nuntii venere. Lucceius Albinus,
a Nerone Mauretaniae Caesariensi praepositus, addita per
Galbam Tingitanae provinciae administratione, haud spernendis
viribus agebat. Decem novem cohortes, quinque alae, ingens 2
Maurorum numerus aderat, per latrocinia et raptus apta bello
manus. Caeso Galba, in Othonem pronus, nec Africa con- 3
tentus, Hispaniae, angusto freto diremptae, imminebat. Inde 4
Cluvio Rufo metus; et decimam legionem propinquare litori
ut transmissurus jussit. Praemissi centuriones qui Maurorum
animos Vitellio conciliarent. Neque arduum fuit, magna per 5
provincias Germanici exercitus fama. Spargebatur insuper,
spreto procuratoris vocabulo, Albinum insigne regis et Jubae

is quoted of Orelli's meaning of the word, and it is unlikely that the same term should have two technical military senses.

3 **Postulante exercitu**] Or. quotes inscriptions of Trajan's time referring to grants of this dignity to soldiers: compare the joke in Caesar, *B. G.* i. 42. Probably Asiaticus had done aide-de-camp's or secretary's work (compare i. 87. 2, iii. 12 fin.), and it was regarded (not necessarily hypocritically) as having contributed to the victory.

4 **honoravit**] M. has *oneravit*, probably either the error or perverse wit of a scribe. It is not like Tacitus to say that he was crushed by his new dignity; moreover, *oneravit* would infallibly suggest *honoravit*, and so be little better than a pun.

CH. LVIII. 1 **partibus**] Vitellius is still conceived as an adventurer or at most a usurper; compare note on i. 13. 10.

2 **Decem novem**] So M. writes at length, no doubt because Tacitus so wrote. The form is much less common than *undeviginti*, *novendecim* still less so.

3 **Hispaniae . . . imminebat**] Spain had declared for Vitellius, i. 76. 2.

5 **insigne regis**] The Moors had retained their nominal independence till A.D. 40. The first Juba, a barbarian Otho, was a man to command popularity, and the second, who was eminent as a historian, may have commanded respect. Romanized as the latter was, it is not likely that Albinus was related to

59 nomen usurpare. Ita mutatis animis, Asinius Pollio, alae praefectus, e fidissimis Albino, et Festus ac Scipio, cohortium praefecti, opprimuntur. Ipse Albinus, dum e Tingitana provincia Caesariensem Mauretanium petit, adpulsu litoris trucidatus; uxor ejus, cum se percussoribus obtulisset, simul interfecta est, nihil eorum quae fierent Vitellio anquirente. Brevi auditu quamvis magna transibat, inpar curis gravioribus.

Exercitum itinere terrestri pergere jubet: ipse Arare flumine 3 devehitur, nullo principali paratu, sed vetere egestate conspicuus, donec Junius Blaesus, Lugdunensis Galliae rector, genere illustri, largus animo et par opibus, circumdaret principi ministeria, comitaretur liberaliter, eo ipso ingratus, quamvis odium Vitellius vernilibus blanditiis velaret. Praesto fuere 4 Lugduni victricium victarumque partium duces. Valentem et Caecinam, pro concione laudatos, curuli suae circumposuit. Mox universum exercitum occurrere infanti filio jubet; perlat- 5

the dynasty; but true or false, the story of his design has some significance of the course the dissolution of the empire would take.

CH. LIX. 1 **Scipio**] He probably was a real Scipio—perhaps a son of the *legatus* of Ann. iii. 74. 2; the family had a natural inclination for African service.

2 **adpulsu litoris**] So M. for the vulgate *appulsus litori*; the simple ablative without either *in* or *ipso* is curious.

eorum quae fierent] Tacitus had never asked himself whether *quae* was a relative or interrogative pronoun: like the first, it has an antecedent, but the subjunctive is really to be accounted for as an indirect question.

transibat] M. has *-bant*, which would oblige one to punctuate, ‘everything, however great, passed over him with a cursory hearing; unequal to serious cares, he ordered,’ etc. This would give a hard sense

to *transibat*; (Stat. *Theb.* ii. 335, *nil transit amantes*, is the nearest parallel), but a more serious objection is, that it makes Vitellius attend to his army, *because* he could not attend to anything important.

3 **vetere egestate**] When appointed to the German command, he had to let his house, and put his family in lodgings, and (it was said) to pawn his mother’s earrings, to pay his travelling expenses. Probably he had not been very long in such straits; *vetere* means only, before he was proclaimed emperor.

Junius Blaesus] Poisoned by Vitellius a little later, iii. 38 sq.

par opibus] Sometimes taken, ‘so good, that he could afford to be rich’ (without being less generous); better simply ‘rich in proportion’ to his generosity.

4 **circumposuit**] ‘Placed on the two sides of,’ an unusual use of *circum*.

umque et paludamento opertum sinu retinens Germanicum appellavit, cinxitque cunctis fortunae principalis insignibus. Nimius honos inter secunda, rebus adversis in solatium cessit.

60 Tum interfecti centuriones promptissimi Othonianorum; unde praecipua in Vitellium alienatio per Illyricos exercitus. Simul 2 ceterae legiones contactu, et adversus Germanicos milites invidia, bellum meditabantur. Suetonium Paulinum ac Lici- nium Proculum tristi mora squalidos tenuit, donec auditi necessariis magis defensionibus quam honestis uterentur. Proditionem ultro inputabant, spatium longi ante praelium 3 itineris, fatigationem Othonianorum, permixtum vehiculis agmen ac pleraque fortuita fraudi suae assignantes. Et Vitellius credit de perfidia, et fidem absolvit. Salvius Titianus,

5 **paludamento opertum**] Was he, like Caligula, dressed as a little soldier? or is it meant that the father wrapped his own cloak over the baby? If the former, the use of the word *opertum* means that it looked ridiculous for a baby in arms to wear such a garment,—he was lost in it; if the latter, it still points out an absurdity, in the army turning out to see a child who couldn't even be held up to them after all. Vitellius was careful of other people's comfort as well as his own (see on i. 52. 1, 3), and was probably a kind as well as a fond father.

Nimius] Not that it was essentially absurd to give a child such honours, but it was absurd for Vitellius to be called Germanicus, (i. 62. 4), and transmit the title to his son, as though he were another Drusus.

in solatium] The thought is one strange to a modern, depending on the conception of good or evil fortune as something objective, not dependent on conscious pleasure or pain. The poor child was put to death next year (iv. 81) and to be murdered in infancy is a mis-

fortune; but then, says Tacitus, he had in his lifetime received his good things.

CH. LX. 1 **unde . . . exercitus**] 'From which more than anything disaffection to Vitellius *spread through* the armies of Illyricum.' Few of them had been present at the battle, so that the animosity of the mass had not been roused: those who had, had distinguished themselves, so that the legions did not feel their honour touched. But when their best officers were put to death in cold blood, they had something to resent.

2 **squalidos**] In mourning, as prisoners awaiting trial; it is perhaps intimated, that they were designedly kept in suspense, so as to force them to more and more abject conduct.

3 **Proditionem ultro inputabant**] 'They voluntarily asserted their own treason, and made a merit of it.'

fidem absolvit] Not 'acquitted them of the crime of loyalty' (C. and B.), which would be *fidei* or *de fide*, but 'acquitted' (*i.e.* pardoned) 'their loyalty' which they

Othonis frater, nullum discrimen adiit, pietate et ignavia 4 excusatus. Mario Celso consulatus servatur. Sed creditum fama, objectumque mox in senatu Caecilio Simplici, quod eum honorem pecunia mercari, nec sine exitio Celsi, voluisset. Restitit Vitellius, deditque postea consulatum Simplici innoxium 5 et inemptum. Trachalum adversus criminantes Galeria uxor Vitellii protexit.

61 Inter magnorum virorum discrimina (pudendum dictu,) Mariccus quidam, e plebe Boiorum, inserere sese fortunae et provocare arma Romana simulatione numinum ausus est. Jamque adsertor Galliarum et deus, (nam id sibi indiderat,) 2 concitis octo milibus hominum, proximos Aeduorum pagos trahebat, cum gravissima civitas electa juventute, adjectis a Vitellio cohortibus, fanaticam multitudinem disjecit. Captus 3 in eo praelio Mariccus, ac mox feris objectus quia non laniabatur, stolidum vulgus inviolabilem credebat, donec spectante Vitellio interfectus est.

62 Nec ultra in defectores aut bona cujusquam saevitum : rata

had actually shown : for Tacitus clearly disbelieves the confession, and acquits Suetonius, though not Proculus, of even the real errors of judgment committed.

4 **Mario Celso]** He at least was free from all suspicion of treachery, i. 71. 6.

5 **Restitit]** 'Stood firm against the temptation': cp. 62. i, iii. 86. 3. Some however take it, 'contradicted the charge against Simplex.'

Trachalum] M. Galerius Trachalus, who wrote Otho's speeches for him, i. 90. 2, 3. Galeria was no doubt a near relation of his.

CH. LXI. i magnorum virorum] Suetonius, Celsus, and perhaps Trachalus might fairly be called so ; but it is doubtful whether Tacitus means anything more distinctive than that any Roman noble was

immeasurably the natural superior of a low-born Gaul.

inserere se fortunae] 'To thrust himself into fortune's game,' C. and B.

2 **id sibi indiderat]** The verb is regularly used with *nomen* : it is characteristic of Tacitus to omit that subst., slightly varying the sense from 'he had assumed that *title*' to 'he had assumed that *attribute*.' Probably he stood in no closer relation to genuine Druidism than the Hau-haus to the primitive Maori paganism.

trahebat] Sometimes taken 'began to ravage ;' rather, 'to gain over.'

3 **non laniabatur]** Apparently a not uncommon occurrence, from the apprehensions of St. Ignatius, ad Rom. 5.

CH. LXII. i defectores] The partisans of Otho, not of Mariccus,

fuere eorum qui acie Othoniana ceciderant testamenta, aut lex intestatis. Prorsus, si luxuriae temperaret, avaritiam non timeres. Epularum foeda et inexplibilis libido: ex urbe 2 atque Italia inritamenta gulae gestabantur, strepentibus ab utroque mari itineribus; exhausti conviviorum apparatibus principes civitatum; vastabantur ipsae civitates; degenerabat a labore ac virtute miles adsuétude voluptatum, et contemptu ducis. Praemisit in urbem edictum quo vocabulum Augusti 3 differret, Caesaris non reciperet, cum de potestate nihil detraheret. Pulsi Italia mathematici. Cautum severe ne equites Romani ludo et arena polluerentur. Priores id principes 4 pecunia et saepius vi perpulerant; ac pleraque municipia et coloniae aemulabantur corruptissimum quemque adolescentium pretio illicere.

though it may be meant that the ridiculous civil war served to distract attention from the tragical one. But it is disputed how the Othonians can be called *defectores*, for Vitellius as well as they had revolted from Galba. Perhaps it means those who deserted during the war, (the *crebra transfugia* of 34. 1 seem to have been mutual); if not, it is enough to say that a successful usurper always claims to have been a legitimate monarch from the first; and that Vitellius actually (i. 74. 6) traded upon the fact that he had been proclaimed before Otho.

temperaret] The impf. from the point of view of a contemporary, which the sense of *non timeres* makes the natural one.

2 adsuétude voluptatum] Apparently Vitellius had, from his arrival on the Rhine, introduced among them the habit of breakfasting on bread and wine (*jentaculum*). Probably there it was a good thing for them, but in Italy it may have been unwholesome, and certainly was thought intemperate. Cicero

expected the whole senate to be, or affect to be, shocked at hearing that Antony used to have a *déjeuner* at eight or nine (Phil. ii. 41. 104).

contemptu ducis seems to have been rather what Tacitus thought ought to have resulted than what did. Vitellius kept his popularity with the common soldiers to the last.

3 differret] Probably till he reached Rome. In both matters he wished to act *civiliter*: he meant to take supreme power, but supreme dignity should only be granted to him deliberately, and a dynastic title he would not bear at all. Compare i. 62. 4.

mathematici] They had made themselves conspicuous on Otho's side, i. 22 sq. Suetonius says they were ordered to withdraw by October 1st: they said, 'Very well, Vitellius would not be alive then.' But he lived nearly two months longer.

severe] In a good sense, as usual. But Vitellius, Tacitus means to

- 63 Sed Vitellius, adventu fratris et inreptibus dominationis magistris superbior et atrocior, occidi Dolabellam jussit, quem in coloniam Aquinatem sepositum ab Othone rettulimus. Dolabella, audita morte Othonis, urbem introierat. Id ei 2 Plancius Varus, praetura functus, ex intimis Dolabellae amicis, apud Flavium Sabinum praefectum urbis objecit, tamquam rupta custodia ducem se victis partibus ostentâset. Addidit 3 tentatam cohortem, quae Ostiae ageret; nec ullis tantorum criminum probationibus, in paenitentiam versus seram veniam post scelus quaerebat. Cunctantem super tanta re Flavium 4 Sabinum Triaria L. Vitellii uxor, ultra feminam ferox, terruit, ne periculo principis famam clementiae adfectaret. Sabinus, 5 suoapte ingenio mitis, ubi formido incessisset, facilis mutatu, et in alieno discrimine sibi pavens, ne adlevâsse videretur, inpulit 64 ruentem. Igitur Vitellius, metu et odio, quod Petroniam uxorem ejus mox Dolabella in matrimonium accepisset, voca-

remind us, was not the man it became to act *severe*, 71. 1.

CH. LXIII. I Sed . . . magistris] Both the ablatives are most simply taken as causal, depending on *superbior et atrocior*, though the first might be a note of time and circumstance. *Dominationis magistri* would be courtiers of Nero, who knew how a despot behaved, and could teach Vitellius, whose natural vices were not those of a despot, how to behave like one:

rettulimus] i. 88. 1.

2 tamquam] Always of uncertain charges, as i. 48. 5, here of a false and indeed manifestly absurd one; for why was a relation of Galba, banished by Otho, the natural person for Otho's party to rally round?

3 nec . . . quaerebat] The expression is somewhat elliptical, or the thought involved: 'though he had no proofs of such heavy charges (he brought them; and though malicious enough to bring them),

he was ashamed of it afterwards, when it was too late to save Piso.'

4 terruit ne] 'Frightened (by bidding him) not to affect:' not therefore a real parallel to Hor. *Od.* i. 2. 5; where *terrui* has the construction usual with intransitive verbs of fearing; iii. 42. 4 is more like this in sense, but there the constr. is helped out by *movendo*: here it seems safest to say that *adfectaret* is an imper. thrown rather loosely into *oratio obliqua*.

5 adlevasse . . . inpulit ruentem] The three words are correlative, and form one consistent metaphor: 'to avoid seeming to have supported him, he hastened the fall he saw beginning.' We may compare not only Cic. *Clu.* 26. 70, '*praecipitantem . . . impellamus*,' but '*impulsae praeceps immane ruinae*' in Juv. x. 107.

CH. LXIV. I odio quod . . . accepisset] So in *Ann.* i. 12. 6, Tiberius is said to have disliked and suspected Asinius Gallus for

tum per epistolas, vitata Flaminiae viae celebritate, devertere Interamnium atque ibi interfici jussit. Longum interfectori 2 visum : in itinere ac taberna projectum humi jugulavit, magna cum invidia novi principatus, cujus hoc primum specimen noscebatur. Et Triariae licentiam modestum e proximo ex- 3 emplum onerabat, Galeria imperatoris uxor, non inmixta tristibus ; et pari probitate mater Vitelliorum Sextilia, antiqui moris. Dixisse quinetiam ad primas filii sui epistolas ferebatur non 4 Germanicum a se sed Vitellium genitum. Nec ullis postea 5 fortunae inlecebris aut ambitu civitatis in gaudium evicta, domus suae tantum adversa sensit.

- 65 Digressum a Lugduno Vitellium M. Cluvius Rufus adsequitur, omissa Hispania, laetitiam et gratulationem voltu ferens, animo anxius, et petatum se criminationibus gnarus. Hilarius, 2 Caesaris libertus, detulerat, tamquam, audito Vitellii et Othonis

having married his former wife Vipsania. But Tiberius had divorced her very much against his will, and if she had remained unmarried would probably have taken her back ; and the husband of the daughter of Agrippa might be thought to connect himself with the imperial family. According to Merivale's suggestion, the marriage of Silius and Messalina was only a similar case. It is difficult to see how either motives of affection or policy could have weight with Vitellius ; but it is not unintelligible that he should have felt a sort of brutal and irrational jealousy. Apparently Petronia had sons by both her husbands : according to Suetonius, Vitellius put his own son Petronianus to death—which seems incredible.

vocatum . . . jussit] He sent a summons to *Dolabella* to meet him, with orders to his *conductor* to take him aside and kill him.

Interamnium] Oftener Interamna, iii. 61. 2, 63. 2.

2 in itinere ac taberna] In an inn beside the Flaminian road, while still ostensibly going to meet Vitellius.

Noscebatur] Of course in the *taberna* it was still more public than at the roadside.

3 onerabat] 'Triaria's recklessness was rendered more intolerable by . . .'

non inmixta tristibus] 'Who took no part in these horrors,' C. and B.

4] Dio and Suetonius give (with slight variations) the same story : the latter seems to understand her words as apprehending Nemesis.

5 ambitu civitatis] Probably 'flattery from the citizens,' though it may mean the temptations afforded by power to influence them.

tantum adversa] She died however before the final fall of her sons, iii. 67. 2. There was a foolish story that Vitellius had her starved.

CH. LXV. 2 **Caesaris**] Must mean Vitellius, in spite of 62. 3. It was the natural expression, when

principatu, propriam ipse potentiam et possessionem Hispaniarum tentasset, eoque diplomatibus nullum principem praescripsisset. Interpretabatur quaedam ex orationibus ejus, 3 contumeliosa in Vitellium et pro se ipso popularia. Auctoritas Cluvii praevaluit, ut puniri ultro libertum suum Vitellius juberet. Cluvius comitatu principis adjectus, non adempta 4 Hispania, quam rexit absens exemplo L. Arruntii. Eum Tiberius Caesar ob metum, Vitellius Cluvium nulla formidine retinebat. Non idem Trebellio Maximo honos. Profugerat 5 Britannia ob iracundiam militum: missus est in locum ejus Vettius Bolanus e praesentibus.

66 Angebat Vitellium victarum legionum haudquaquam fractus animus. Sparsae per Italiam et victoribus permixtae hostilia loquebantur, praecipua quartadecimanorum ferocia, qui se victos abnuebant: quippe Bedriacensi acie, vexillariis tantum pulsus, vires legionis non adfuisse. Remitti eos in Britanniam, 2 unde a Nerone exciti erant, placuit, atque interim Batavorum cohortes una tendere ob veterem adversus quartadecimanos discordiam. Nec diu in tantis armatorum odiis quies fuit. 3

speaking of the emperor in his personal capacity, as *princeps* would be in civil and *imperator* in military matters.

eoque] The fact seems not to have been denied. Of course it is intelligible enough that he should have shrunk from committing himself and his officials while the event was doubtful. Possibly in his speeches too, while acknowledging Vitellius (i. 76. 2), he had used language about him which might be quoted to Otho, if victorious, to prove he had not deserted him heartily nor willingly.

3 **Interpretabatur**] 'He put that sense upon . . . ' viz. *propriam ipsum potentiam . . . tentasse*: the form of the sentence seems to show that he had spoken contemptuously

of Vitellius, though possibly only before proclaiming him.

ultro] So far from thanking him, or punishing Rufus.

4 **exemplo L. Arruntii**] *Ann.* vi. 27. 3: cf. *Ann.* i. 13. 1, 2; also i. 80. 4, xiii. 22. 2.

5 **Trebellio maximo**] i. 70.

CH. LXVI. 1 **quartadecimanorum**] II. 2, 43. 3.

2 **unde . . . erant**] Nero had summoned them to act against Vindex, II. 3; for their relations to the Batavians see i. 59. 2, 64. 3, 4. *Tendere* is no doubt 'to encamp,' as in i. 55. 3, though here it might be translated 'to march in the same direction.' *Hospitem* in the next section shows that it is not to be pressed as though they were kept under canvas altogether.

Augustae Taurinorum, dum opificem quendam Batavus ut fraudatorem insectatur, legionarius ut hospitem tuetur, sui cuique commilitones aggregati a conviciis ad caedem transiere. Et praelium atrox arsisset, ni duae praetoriae cohortes, causam 4 quartadecimanorum secutae, his fiduciam et metum Batavis fecissent. Quos Vitellius agmini suo jungi ut fidos, legionem 5 Graiis Alpibus traductam eo flexu itineris ire jubet quo Viennam vitarent : namque et Viennenses timebantur. Nocte qua proficiscebatur legio, relictis passim ignibus, pars Taurinae coloniae ambusta ; quod damnum, ut pleraque belli mala, majoribus aliarum urbium cladibus oblitteratum. Quartadecimani post- 7 quam Alpibus degressi sunt, seditiosissimus quisque signa Viennam ferebant. Consensu meliorum compressi, et legio in 67 Britanniam transvecta. Proximus Vitellio e praetoriis cohortibus metus erat. Separati primum, deinde, addito honestae missionis lenimento, arma ad tribunos suos deferebant, donec motum a Vespasiano bellum crebesceret : tum, resumpta militia, robor Flavianarum partium fuere. Prima classicorum legio in 2 Hispaniam missa, ut pace et otio mitesceret ; undecima ac

3 **ut fraudatorem]** Very likely there was a misunderstanding owing to neither party speaking good Latin.

5 **Viennenses]** Having been partisans of Vindex, and threatened by Valens' army, i. 64 sq.

7 **Quartadecimani . . . seditiosissimus quisque]** Strictly the subjects to *degressi sunt* and *ferebant* respectively, but the order is so arranged as to suggest an apposition between them : 'the men of the 14th, having made the descent of the Alps (the most disaffected of them, I mean), offered to march towards Vienna.' This accounts for the pl. verb with *quisque* and the superl., which is not very common : with *quisque* and the reflexive pronoun it is.

CH. LXVII. 1 **Separati]** It was the men, not the cohorts, who could be spoken of as discharged, and as bringing in their arms : hence though it was probably the cohorts that were divided from each other, the partic. is not unnaturally put in agreement with the men.

addito . . . lenimento] They had all the privileges and rewards they would have had if they had been discharged peaceably, suppose when superannuated.

deferebant] Note the tense ; the discharge was not hurried that it might be peaceable ; the consequence was, it never was completed.

robor Flavianarum partium] See especially iii. 24. 3.

2 **Prima classicorum]** Called *Adjutrix*, 43. 1.

septima suis hibernis redditae ; tertiadecimani struere amphitheatra jussi. Nam Caecina Cremonae, Valens Bononiae 3 spectaculum gladiatorum edere parabant, nunquam ita ad curas intento Vitellio ut voluptatum oblivisceretur.

68 Et quidem partes modeste distraxerat : apud victores orta seditio, ludicro initio, *ni* numerus caesorum invidiam bello auxisset. Discubuerat Vitellius Ticini, adhibito ad epulas Verginio. Legati tribunique, ex moribus imperatorum, severi- 2 tatem aemulantur vel tempestivis conviviis gaudent ; perinde miles intentus aut licenter agit. Apud Vitellium omnia indisposita, temulenta, pervigiliis ac bacchanalibus quam disciplinae et castris propiora. Igitur duobus militibus, altero legionis 3 quintae, altero e Gallis auxiliaribus, per lasciviam ad certamen luctandi accensis, postquam legionarius prociderat, insultante Gallo, et iis qui ad spectandum convenerant in studia diductis, erupere legionarii in perniciem auxiliorum, ac duae cohortes interfectae. Remedium tumultus fuit alius tumultus. Pulvis 4 procul et arma aspiciebantur : conclamatum repente quartam decimam legionem, verso itinere, ad praelium venire. Sed 5 erant agminis coactores : agniti dempsere sollicitudinem.

CH. LXVIII. 1 **distraxerat** can hardly be used in so mild a sense as 'separating' combatants, so we must take *partes* of the Othonians exclusively ; 'he had indeed succeeded in scattering the *opposite* side without violence, it was among the victors that trouble arose.' As for the sense of *partes* noted on i. 13. 10, the Othonians were now *defectores*, 62. 1.

ni . . . auxisset] Men hated a war that destroyed thousands to decide which of two voluptuaries should be emperor, but their disgust rose still higher when hundreds were destroyed about nothing whatever.

2 **tempestivis**] 'If *these* suit the times.'

pervigiliis ac bacchanalibus]

The worst kind of orgies, which yet have the notion of a *holiday*, in common with more respectable religious ceremonies. The point is not only that Vitellius spent his nights in drinking, but that he put business aside for the sake of it. Perhaps there is a hendiadys in these words balancing the obvious one in *disciplinae et castris*.

3 **insultante Gallo**] One may remember the description of Manlius' antagonist in Liv. 7. 10, and the parallel passage preserved from Claudius Quadrigarius.

5 **coactores**] Α ἀπαξ λεγόμενον in this sense, though *agmen cogere* is of course common ; compare also Cat. R. R. 150.

Interim Verginii servus forte obviu ut percussor Vitellii insimulatur. Et ruebat ad convivium miles, mortem Verginii exposcens. Ne Vitellius quidem, quamquam ad omnes suspensiones pavidus, de innocentia ejus dubitavit. Aegre tamen 6 cohibiti, qui exitium consularis, et quondam ducis sui, flagitabant. Nec quemquam saepius quam Verginium omnis seditio infestavit. Manebat admiratio viri et fama: sed oderant ut 69 fastiditi. Postero die Vitellius, senatus legatione quam ibi opperiri jusserat audita, transgressus in castra, ultro pietatem militum conlaudavit, frementibus auxiliis, tantum inpunitionis atque adrogantiae legionariis accessisse. Batavorum cohortes 2 ne quid truculentius auderent, in Germaniam remissae, principium interno simul externoque bello parantibus fati. Red- 3 dita civitatibus Gallorum auxilia, ingens numerus et prima statim defectione inter inania belli adsumptus. Ceterum ut 4 largitionibus adfectae jam imperii opes sufficerent, amputari legionum auxiliorumque numeros jubet, vetitis supplementis; et promiscuae missiones offerebantur. Exitiabile id reipublicae, 5 ingratum militi, cui eadem munia inter paucos, periculaque ac labor crebrius redibant. Et vires luxu corrumpabantur, contra veterem disciplinam et instituta majorum, apud quos virtute quam pecunia res Romana melius stetit.

70 Inde Vitellius Cremonam flexit, et, spectato munere Caecinae, insistere Bedriacensibus campis ac vestigia recentis victoriae lustrare oculis concupivit. Foedum atque atrox 2

6 *Nec quemquam*, etc.] See on 49. 2.

ut *fastiditi*] After the death of Vindex, i. 8. 7; the passage just referred to of course does not refer to *these* soldiers.

CH. LXIX. 1 *pietatem*] See on i. 83. 3.

2 *interno . . . bello*] See on i. 2. 2.

3 *inter inania belli*] 'As one of

the false shows employed in war;' their number served to alarm the enemy, though it was known that they would be useless in the field.

4 *amputari . . . numeros*] 'That the corps' (as i. 6. 5) 'should be cut down' in number, the skeleton of each being preserved. If the construction were 'that the *numbers* should be reduced,' we should have had a different word from *amputari*.

spectaculum. Intra quadragesimum pugnae diem lacera corpora, trunci artus, putres virorum equorumque formae, infecta tabo humus, protritris arboribus ac frugibus dira vastitas. Nec 3 minus inhumana pars viae, quam Cremonenses lauru rosaque constraverant, exstructis altaribus caesisque victimis regium in morem; quae, laeta in praesens, mox perniciem ipsis fecere. Aderant Valens et Caecina, monstrabantque pugnae locos: 4 hinc inrupisse legionum agmen, hinc equites coortos, inde circumfusas auxiliorum manus. Jam tribuni praefectique, sua quisque facta extollentes, falsa, vera, aut majora vero miscebant. Volgus quoque militum clamore et gaudio deflectere via, spatia 5 certaminum recognoscere, aggerem armorum, strues corporum intueri, mirari. Et erant quos varia fors rerum lacrimaeque et misericordia subiret. At non Vitellius flexit oculos, nec 6 tot milia insepultorum civium exhorruit. Laetus ultro, et tam propinquae sortis ignarus, instaurabat sacrum dñs loci.

71 Exin Bononiae a Fabio Valente gladiatorum spectaculum editur, advecto ex urbe cultu. Quantoque magis propinquabat, tanto corruptius iter, inmixtis histrionibus et spadonum gregi-

CH. LXX. 2 **Intra quadragesimum pugnae diem**] Just the time when the horror would be greatest, worse than while the corpses were fresh, or when those not removed would have left only bones.

formae] 'Shapes' only traceable in outline, through decay.

3 **regium in morem**] As though in honour of an oriental despot; compare Aesch. *Ag.* 919, 935-6.

perniciem . . . fecere] iii. 32. 3, 4.

4 **hinc . . . manus**] If the reference be to definite incidents of this battle, rather than to such as are a matter of course in any, we may explain the three clauses respectively from 43. 1-3, 41. 4, 5, and 43. 3 fin.

5 **clamore et gaudio**] We have

the same construction of the abl. without a preposition in i. 27. 5.

spatia certaminum] 'The course the various encounters had traversed,' from the first onset of the Othonians till they were pushed back and broken.

6 **insepultorum civium**] According to Suetonius, he said '*optime olere occisum hostem, melius civem.*' Tacitus says he showed a temper that made the saying credible, but avoids making himself responsible for its having been uttered.

tam propinquae sortis ignarus] The *dñi loci* were no sure friends to him, as his main army was overthrown on the same spot.

CH. LXXI. 1 **cultu**] 'Furniture,' especially ornaments, including both the fittings for the building and

bus et cetero Neronianae aulae ingenio. Namque et Neronem 2 ipsum Vitellius admiratione celebrabat, sectari cantantem solitus, non necessitate, qua honestissimus quisque, sed luxu et saginae mancipatus emptusque. Ut Valenti et Caecinae vacuos 3 honoris menses aperiret, coartati aliorum consulatus, dissimulatus Marcii Macri, tamquam Othonianarum partium ducis; et Valerium Marinum destinatum a Galba consulem distulit, nulla offensa, sed mitem et injuriam segniter laturum. Pedanius 4 Costa omittitur, ingratus principi, ut adversus Neronem ausus, et Verginii exstimulator: sed alias protulit causas. Actaeque insuper Vitellio gratiae, consuetudine servitii.

- 72 Non ultra paucos dies, quamquam acribus initiis coeptum, mendacium valuit. Exstiterat quidam Scribonianum se Camerinum ferens, Neronianorum temporum metu in Histria occul-

the equipments of the men themselves.

2 **celebrabat . . . solitus**] He (like Otho) celebrated Nero's memory now, having been one of his companions *while he lived*.

non . . . quisque] Vitellius however was not singular in his interested subservience; i. 4. 3 indicates a considerable class, *qui adesit bonis per dedecus Neronialebantur*.

luxu . . . emptusque] Stronger and more bitter, says Or., than *venditus emancipatusque*, which is commoner in the metaphorical sense. *Luxu* is of course a dat.

3 **aliorum**] 'Of some' as opposed to Macer and Marinus, not 'of others,' as opposed to Valens and Caecina.

dissimulatus] 'Ignored,' pretended not to have been assigned.

laturum] Tacitus uses the simple participle, as in Greek one would use the participle with ὥς.

4 **Pedanius Costa omittitur**] Apparently to make room for Caecilius Simplex, iii. 68. 3. '*Fasti consulares hujus anni sic constituendi*

sunt: Galba et Vinus d. 1-15 Januarii, Otho et Titianus d. 15 Jan.-1 Mart.: Verginius et Pompeius Vopiscus per m. Martium et Aprilem: Caelius et Flavius Sabinus per m. Maium et Junium: Arrius Antoninus et Marius Celsus per m. Julium et Augustum: Caecina et Valens per m. Septembr. et Octobr.: Rosius Regulus Caecinae suffectus per unum d. 31 Octobr.: Caecilus Simplex et Quintius Atticus per m. Novembr. et Decembr.' Or.

CH. LXXII. 1 **Non . . . valuit**] We should have expected *mendacium* to stand first; we should then have the same Tacitean sort of narrative as 15. 3, 41. 4. Here the order was perhaps determined by Tacitus not having made up his mind whether to express the general sentiment that imposture never succeeds long, or to state (as he does) the specific fact that this imposture did not.

Scribonianum se Camerinum . . . metu] The Sulpicius Camerinus of *Ann.* xiii. 52. I was, according to Dio, put to death by Helius with his son. Probably Geta personated

tatum, quod illic clientelae et agri veterum Crassorum ac nominis favor manebat. Igitur deterrimo quoque in argumentum fabulae assumpto, volgus credulum et quidam militum, errore veri seu turbarum studio, certatim adgregabantur; cum pertractus ad Vitellium, interrogatusque quisnam mortalium esset, postquam nulla dictis fides et a domino noscebatur, condicione fugitivus, nomine Geta, sumptum de eo supplicium in servilem modum.

- 73 Vix credibile memoratu est quantum superbiae socordiaque Vitellio adoleverit, postquam speculatores e Suria Judaeaque adactum in verba ejus Orientem nuntiavere. Nam etsi vagis adhuc et incertis auctoribus, erat tamen in ore famaue Vespasianus, ac plerumque ad nomen ejus Vitellius excitabatur. Tum ipse exercitusque, ut nullo aemulo, saevitia, libidine, 74 raptu in externos mores proruperant. At Vespasianus bellum armaque, et procul vel juxta sitas vires, circumspectabat.

the latter, or perhaps an imaginary younger brother, supposed to have taken alarm from their fate. From the combination of the names Scribonianus and Crassus, we may guess that the elder Camerinus had married a sister of Piso Licinianus—see the genealogy on i. 14. 2. Piso's adoption by Galba had served to keep the family before men's eyes, and this decided the slave as to which of Nero's victims he should connect himself with.

2 **argumentum fabulae**] 'Admitted into the plot of the piece,' *i.e.* allowed to know it so as to make sure of their acting their own parts harmoniously.

mortalium] The word is used in a similar expletive way in *Agr.* II. 1. It seems merely to indicate utter uncertainty, as we say, 'Who on earth?' there is nothing there to point to legends of supernatural inhabitants, nor here to bring out the

sarcasm, that Camerinus had been killed once, so that if this was he, he must have more lives than one.

condicione fugitivus] *παρ' ὑπόνοιαν*: *condicione servus* would have been natural enough; but this pretender to nobility not only belonged to the lowest class of society—he had sunk even below that, by dishonesty.

CH. LXXIII. 1 **speculatores**] In the usual technical sense: members of the emperor's body-guard were his natural messengers on military business.

2 **plerumque . . . excitabatur**] The verb is rather a strong one. Vitellius was habitually absorbed in the pleasures of the moment—it always needed something to rouse him *from* his torpor: but hearing the name of Vespasian was generally enough to do so.

in externos mores] Those of an oriental court, as in 70. 3.

Miles ipsi adeo paratus, ut praeceuntem sacramentum, et fausta Vitellio omina precantem, per silentium audierint. Muciani ² animus nec Vespasiano alienus et in Titum pronior. Praefectus Aegypti *Ti.* Alexander consilia sociaverat. Tertiam legionem, quod e Suria in Moesiam transisset, suam numerabat. Ceterae Illyrici legiones secuturae sperabantur; namque omnes ³ exercitus flammaverat adrogantia venientium a Vitellio militum, quod truces corpore, horridi sermone, ceteros ut inpares inridebant. Sed in tanta mole belli plerumque cunctatio; et Vespa- ⁴ sianus, modo in spem erectus, aliquando adversa reputabat:— Quis ille dies foret, quo sexaginta aetatis annos et duos filios juvenes bello permetteret? Esse privatis cogitationibus progressum, et prout velint, plus minusve sumi ex fortuna: imperium cupientibus nihil medium inter summa aut praecipitia.

CH. LXXIV. **1 fausta . . . precantem]** *Bona* or *fausta omnia precari* was the technical expression; else some would read *omina*: M. has an abbreviation, which though properly standing for *omnia*, is somewhat ambiguous. The reluctance of the soldiers to commit themselves to the oath is stronger than that described in i. 55. **1.** It shows how the *longum Caesarum sacramentum* (i. 5. **1**) had been depreciated by the extinction of the dynasty, that Vespasian, a loyal soldier and conscientious man as times went, thought it worth while to take an oath he meant to break immediately, for the mere sake of sounding his troops: for Vitellius's alarm clearly was not lulled long enough to produce any practical effect of surprise.

2 nec . . . pronior] See above, 5. **1.**

e Suria] M. has *de*, and the insertion of *d* by διτρογραφία here is less likely a *priori* than the omission of *Ti* by ὁμοιοτέλετον just above. But Or. doubts the legitimacy of the construction

transire de, though admitting that it might have a distinctive sense—that they had been withdrawn from Syria, not simply sailed from Syria.

3 horridi sermone] 'Speaking a rude dialect,' C. and B. If not quite so much as this, the passage clearly means that they were barbarized by their service on the German frontier.

4 Esse privatis . . .] 'In private designs there is room to advance [or not]; private men may, as they choose, draw more or less heavily upon fortune.' The subject to *velint* is *privata cogitantes*, to be supplied from *privatis cogitationibus*. *Sumi ex fortuna* is probably to be explained as above translated—fortune, instead of being personified, is conceived as an unappropriated store of success for some unknown comer: or we might translate, 'they take more or less, according to their fortune'—proportion their aims for the future to their success in the past.

inter summa aut praecipitia] So M. and recent edd., but two copies and the old vulgate substi-

- 75 Versabatur ante oculos Germanici exercitus robor, notum viro militari : suas legiones civili bello inexpertas, Vitellii victrices, et apud victos plus querimoniarum quam virium. Fluxam² per discordias militum fidem, et periculum ex singulis : quid enim profuturas cohortes alasque, si unus alterque praesenti facinori paratum ex diverso praemium petat? Sic Scriboni-³ anum sub Claudio interfectum ; sic percussorem ejus Volaginium e gregario ad summa militiae provectum. Facilius
76 universos inpelli quam singulos vitari. His pavoribus nutantem et alii legati amiceque firmabant, et Mucianus, post multos

tuted *et*, which is as much less Tacitean as it is more obvious. The sense either way would be the same, 'no alternative between the highest success and utter downfall' (C. and B.) ; but with *et* the words *could* be translated, 'there was no ground intervening between precipitous heights,' and to this false interpretation of a false reading we probably owe the picturesque device of Montrose—a lion preparing to leap from one rocky peak to a higher, with an abyss between.

CH. LXXV. 1 **Versabatur . . . militari]** He had commanded a legion in Germany itself, in the reign of Claudius. But Tacitus probably means only that a good soldier, such as he was, would have studied the qualities of the whole army, and the conditions of service everywhere, even beyond the range of his personal knowledge.

suas . . . Vitellii . . . victos] His main reliance was on his own legions, including (74. 2) the one lately sent into Moesia : he had a faint hope of desertion from Vitellius, and a better one of support from the Othonians. But, he reflects, his own men might refuse to fight against Romans ; the Vitellians, if they did not care much for their emperor, would

identify his cause with that of their own pride ; and the Othonians, though discontented enough, had been beaten once, and might be again.

2 **si unus . . . petat]** 'If one or two men should seek from the opposite side the reward held ready for the deed of a moment,' or perhaps rather, 'for a deed in their power at a moment's notice.' The antithesis of the collectives *cohortes alasque* to *unus alterque* is meant to explain *ex singulis*. *Facinus* is hardly a word of moral blame : see on 50. 2. *Praesens* has been translated 'daring,' like *praesens animus* or *virtus*, but there the distinctive force lies in the subst. It is doubted whether *facinora*, the f.l. of M., should be converted into *-ri* or *-re*. If the dat. be read, we shall translate as above, if the abl., we must make *paratum* mean 'gained by a deed,' etc.

3 **Scribonianum]** We have not Tacitus's account of his rebellion, though it is alluded to in i. 89. 2, *Ann.* xii. 52. 1. As told by extant authorities, it appears that his failure was rather due to the reluctance of his men generally to follow him, than to the treachery of one.

inpelli] 'Set in motion' by a sudden appeal : see on i. 5. 1.

secretosque sermones jam et coram ita locutus :—‘ Omnes qui 2
 magnarum rerum consilia suscipiunt, aestimare debent an
 quod inchoatur reipublicae utile, ipsis gloriosum, aut promptum
 effectum, aut certe non arduum sit. Simul ipse qui suadet con-
 siderandus est, adiciatne consilio periculum suum, et, si
 fortuna coeptis adfuerit, cui summum decus adquiratur. Ego 3
 te, Vespasiane, ad imperium voco, tam salutare reipublicae,
 quam tibi magnificum. Juxta deos in tua manu positum est.
 Nec speciem adulantis expaveris. A contumelia quam a laude
 propius fuerit post Vitellium eligi. Non adversus divi Augusti 4
 acerrimam mentem, nec adversus cautissimam Tiberii senectutem,
 ne contra Gai quidem, aut Claudii vel Neronis, fundatam
 longo imperio domum exurgimus. Cessisti etiam Galbae
 imaginibus. Torpere ultra, et polluentem perdendamque 5
 rempublicam relinquere, somnus et ignavia videretur, etiam si
 tibi, quam inhonesta, tam tuta servitus esset. Abiit jam et 6

CH. LXXVI. I *coram*] Hardly before the army, but before the *legati et amici*; all present, from 78. I, appear to be on the same terms with him as Mucianus. M. has *coronam*, but there is little doubt the correction of the text is the right one.

2] The preamble of the speech is suggested by that of the Ciceronian ambassadors in Thuc. i. 32. I. The first two requisites for such a scheme, its public and private expediency, are shown in § 3 to belong to that which Mucianus proposes; then he passes into the next—its facility; then, in the first half of c. 70, he meets the further considerations, ‘Does the author of the advice give it at his own risk, or at yours only? will success be for your benefit, or his only?’ by showing that he takes an equal risk with Vespasian, and has a reasonable motive for leaving the profit to him.

3 *Juxta deos . . . positum est*]

After the gods, no one has a better right to it: unless the gods prevent, it is in your power to take it.

A *contumelia . . . propius*]

See on i. 10. 2.

4 *aut Claudii vel Neronis*]

Perhaps the variation of the conjunctions is not accidental; the sense may be to distinguish, first the two emperors of independent personal ability, then their heir, too mad or too bad to do anything to strengthen his dynasty, and then the two who, having inherited power they did not merit, still knew how to use their strength, and maintain their position. An attack on Claudius or Nero might seem less promising than one on Gaius, though more so than on Augustus or Tiberius.

Cessisti . . . *imaginibus*]

See on i. 49. 4. It is implied that, except noble birth, Vespasian had at least as good a claim to empire as

transvectum est tempus, quo posses videri concupisse: confugiendum est ad imperium. An excidit trucidatus Corbulo? splendidior origine quam nos sumus, fateor: sed et Nero nobilitate natalium Vitellium anteibat. Satis clarus est apud 7 timentem quisquis timetur. Et posse ab exercitu principem fieri sibi ipse Vitellius documento, nullis stipendiis, nulla militari fama, Galbae odio provectus. Ne Othonem quidem ducis 8 arte aut exercitus vi, sed praepropera ipsius desperatione victum, jam desiderabilem et magnum principem fecit, cum

Galba. Vespasian's own family was undistinguished, and he ridiculed all attempts to make it appear otherwise; there were however some Flavii of whom we hear as far back as B.C. 328, and Ap. Claudius' famous secretary, not many years later, might be said to give the name some distinction. Vespasian had very likely as good a right to the *imago* of that patriarch of *novi homines*, as the Bruti of Caesar's time to that of the founder of the Republic.

6 **quo posses videri concupisse]** Nearly every one rightly agrees in rejecting the conjecture *non cupisse*; but the phrase as it stands is *arguta sententia* (Or.) He and most interpreters say that the emphasis is on *videri*, 'the time is past when you could be *thought* to have coveted empire;' now you must be *known* to covet it. But *videri* is hardly so confined to the meaning of *doubtful* appearance as to sustain such an antithesis, especially when the second member is suppressed. It would be easier to lay the stress on *posses* — 'the time is past when you could *afford* to be thought to have coveted' what you could not be suspected of aiming at. But neither of these seems to bring out the force of the perf. inf. so well as one might by paraphrasing *videri aliquando potuisti concupisse: nunc non potest fieri quin videaris concupiscere.*

excidit] Sc. *mente*.

trucidatus] Strictly speaking, he was made to kill himself.

splendidior . . . sumus] Scarcely than a Licinius Mucianus, but the speaker artfully affects to unite his own case with that of his friend. Corbulo was perhaps the adopted son of the praetorian senator of *Ann.* iii. 31. 4; by birth he was brother to Caesonia, the last wife of the emperor Gaius. It seems that Tacitus hints here that there were grounds for Nero's suspicions of him; the usual accounts represent him as strictly and even extravagantly loyal.

7 **Et posse . . . fieri]** Cf. i. 4. 2.

Galbae odio] By the men's hatred to Galba, not Galba's to Vitellius, of which we never hear.

8 **Ne Othonem quidem . . . magnum principem fecit]** The two sentiments, that it was no credit to Vitellius to have beaten Otho, and that he had surpassed him in vices, are run into one sentence in a way not ungrammatical, but rather awkward. As usual, the force of the sentence is expressed rather by its order than by its construction. It happens that in English we can make it a little more symmetrical without recasting it. '*Even* Otho he defeated not by generalship or armed force . . . , and *even* him he has now made men regret as a great emperor.'

interim spargit legiones, exarmat cohortes, nova cotidie bello semina ministrat. Si quid ardoris ac ferociae miles habuit, popinis et comissionibus et principis imitatione deteritur. Tibi e Judaea et Suria et Aegypto novem legiones integrae, 9 nulla acie exhaustae, non discordia corruptae, sed firmatus usu miles, et belli domitor externi; classium, alarum, cohortium robor, et fidissimi reges, et tua ante omnis experientia.

77 Nobis nihil ultra adrogabo, quam ne post Valentem et Caecinam numeremur. Ne tamen Mucianum socium spreveris, quia aemulum non experiris. Me Vitellio antepono, te mihi. Tuae domui triumphale nomen, duo juvenes, capax jam imperii 2 alter, et primis militiae annis apud Germanicos quoque exercitus clarus. Absurdum fuerit non cedere imperio ei, cujus filium adoptaturus essem, si ipse imperarem. Ceterum inter 3 nos non idem prosperarum adversarumque rerum ordo erit. Nam si vincimus, honorem quem dederis habebo: discrimen ac pericula ex aequo patiemur. Immo, ut melius est, tuos

exarmat cohortes] 69. 4. Tacitus knew of these measures; did Mucianus?

principis imitatione] Of course 'imitating their emperor,' viz., in the tavern revelry just mentioned. But Or. very strongly rejects this explanation, and takes the words 'by his pretending to be an emperor' when he is not fit for one.

9 novem legiones] Four in Syria (i. 10. 1), three in Judaea (ib. 5), and two in Egypt (v. 1. 3).

nulla acie exhaustae] Those in Judaea had indeed been engaged in vigorous siege warfare; but Josephus' defence of Jotapata was exceptionally well sustained, and it is plain from his account that even there the Romans lost less in men than time.

classium] See 83. 2.

reges] v. 1. 4. The German princes of iii. 5. 4 had not yet been secured.

CH. LXXVII. 2 **triumphale nomen]** He had received the *triumphalia ornamenta* (no one but the emperor now ever had the triumph itself) under Claudius, for his successes in Britain.

apud Germanicos, etc.] See on 75. 1. Titus had served as tribune under his father, both there and in Britain.

3 honorem quem dederis habebo] *Honorem* is the virtual subject, *quem dederis* the predicate, 'the honour I receive will be your gift,' and the tense implies, 'its amount at your discretion.'

discrimen ac pericula] Often conjoined, as Or. points out. They are not quite synonymous—the first is the anxious 'risk' of failure, while success is still possible, the second the 'dangers' of worse evil to follow on failure.

tuos exercitus rege] Act as emperor, treat the armies as your

exercitus rege, mihi bellum et praeliorum incerta trade. Acriore hodie disciplina victi quam victores agunt. Hos ira, 4 odium, ultionis cupiditas ad virtutem accendit: illi per fastidium et contumaciam hebescunt. Aperiet et recludet contexta et tumescentia victricium partium vulnera bellum ipsum. Nec 5 mihi major in tua vigilantia, parsimonia, sapientia, fiducia est quam in Vitellii torpore, inscitia, saevitia. Sed meliorem in bello causam quam in pace habemus: nam qui deliberant, 78 desciverunt.' Post Muciani orationem ceteri audentius circumsistere, hortari, responsa vatum et siderum motus referre. Nec erat intactus tali superstitione, ut qui mox, rerum dominus, 2 Seleucum quemdam mathematicum, rectorem et praescium palam habuerit. Recursabant animo vetera omina. Cupressus 3 arbor in agris ejus, conspicua altitudine, repente prociderat, ac postera die, eodem vestigio resurgens, procera et latior virebat. Grande id prosperumque consensu haruspicum, et summa claritudo juveni admodum Vespasiano promissa. Sed 4 primo triumphalia et consulatus et Judaicae victoriae decus inplēsse fidem ominis videbantur: ut haec adeptus est, portendi sibi imperium credebat. Est Judaeam inter Suriamque Car- 5 melus: ita vocant montem deumque. Nec simulacrum deo

own, and me as your general. The antithesis of *tuos* and *mihi* prevents our supposing it means merely 'keep your own army to conquer the Jews, while I undertake the more perilous task of conquering Vitellius.'

5 **parsimonia**] Always in a good sense, as i. 37. 7. Vespasian was usually charged with avarice (sup. 5. 1), apparently from his conduct when proconsul in Africa; his half-humorous niggardliness as emperor was as prudent and seemingly not as unpopular as Galba's (i. 49. 5). But in 84. 2 it is intimated that he at least winked at actual corruption.

CH. LXXVIII. 1 **responsa vatum**] See cc. 3. 4. From i. 10. 7 we

are perhaps to understand, not that the prophecies quoted in Vespasian's favour were imaginary, but only that they would have been unheeded if they had failed. Josephus asserts that when made prisoner and brought before Vespasian, he told him of his destiny, apparently grounding it on the interpretation of Daniel mentioned in v. 13. 3.

2 **Nec erat intactus**, etc.] See iv. 81 sqq.

4 **triumphalia**] See on 77. 2. **consulatus**] The two last months of A.D. 51.

5 **ita vocant montem deumque**] The well-known meaning of this name ('garden') makes it unlikely

aut templum : sic tradidere majores, aram tantum et reveren-
tiam. Illic sacrificanti Vespasiano, cum spes occultas versaret 6
animo, Basilides sacerdos, inspectis identidem extis, 'Quicquid
est,' inquit, 'Vespasiane, quod paras, seu domum exstruere,
seu prolatare agros, sive ampliare servitia, datur tibi magna
sedes, ingentes termini, multum hominum.' Has ambages et 7
statim exceperat fama et tunc aperiebat. Nec quicquam
magis in ore volgi. Crebriores apud ipsum sermones, quanto
79 sperantibus plura dicuntur. Haud dubia destinatione dis-
cessere, Mucianus Antiochiam, Vespasianus Caesaream : illa
Suriae, haec Judaeae caput est.

Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum imperii Alexandriae coep-
tum, festinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui Kalendis Juliis sacra-
mento ejus legiones adegit. Isque primus principatus dies 2
in posterum celebratus, quamvis Judaicus exercitus quinto
Nonas Julias apud ipsum jurâsset, eo ardore ut ne Titus quidem
filius exspectaretur, Suria remeans, et consiliorum inter Muci-
anum ac patrem nuntius. Cuncta impetu militum acta, non
80 parata contione, non conjunctis legionibus. Dum quaeritur

that the god cannot have been so called, unless from the feeling *quis deus incertum est; habitat deus*: people sacrificed to the God of Carmel, whoever he might be. The mountain is almost certain, from its position, to have been a Canaanite sanctuary; it was an Israelite one (1 Kings xviii. 30) at some unknown time before Ahab, and remained so (2 Kings iv. 23) for some time afterwards; and is to this day visited for an annual sacrifice by the Druses. The absence of image or temple points to the continuous antiquity of the worship; but *inspectis . . . extis* proves that it was not now Judaic, nor, it may be added, in the common historical sense, Samaritan. It is however as likely to have been derived from some of Esarhaddon's colonists as from the Phoenician

aborigines; the Greek name of the priest proves nothing.

CH. LXXIX. 1 *haec Judaeae caput est*] The civil capital of the province; in v. 8. 1 he accurately says *Hierosolyma genti caput*.

Initium . . . Alexandro] Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 10. 6) says that he only proclaimed Vespasian on hearing from him that he had been proclaimed in Judaea. And Suetonius makes the latter take place on the 11th (*quinto Idus*) instead of the 3d of July. As to this at least, Tacitus is admitted to be certainly right.

2 *non parata contione*] An abl. abs., 'without the men being got together to hear an address,' as appears from the symmetry of *conjunctis legionibus*.

CH. LXXX. 1 *Dum quaeritur*, etc.] While Vespasian and his offi-

tempus, locus, quodque in re tali difficillimum est, prima vox, dum animo spes, timor, ratio, casus obversantur, egressum cubiculo Vespasianum pauci milites, solito adstantes ordine ut legatum salutaturi, 'Imperatorem' salutavere. Tum ceteri ² adcurrere, Caesarem et Augustum et omnia principatus vocabula cumulare. Mens a metu ad fortunam transierat. In ipso nihil tumidum, adrogans, aut in rebus novis novum fuit. Ut primum tantae mutationis obfusam oculis caliginem disjecit, militariter locutus laeta omnia et affluentia excepit. Namque ³ id ipsum opperiens Mucianus alacrem militem in verba Vespasiani adegit. Tum Antiochensium theatrum ingressus, ubi illis consultare mos est, concurrentes et in adulationem effusos adloquitur, satis decorus etiam Graeca facundia, omniumque quae diceret atque ageret arte quadam ostentator. Nihil ⁴

cers were deliberating when, where, and by whom the empire should be formally offered him, the soldiers offered it spontaneously.

Imperatorem] They felt most within their rights in conferring this title; in theory they might have done so without revolting from Vitellius, as Camillus had borne the title under Tiberius.

2 omnia principatus vocabula] But apparently not *princeps* itself: that it unquestionably rested with the Senate to confer.

Mens] Their mind, not his, or there would be no point in the transition marked by *in ipso*.

ad fortunam] To a sense that they were on the winning side.

mutationis] A not very certain correction for *multitudinis*. It is harsh to speak of a man being blinded by a crowd, but it may be doubted whether Tacitus was not capable of so speaking—still more, whether the conjecture in the text is the best possible.

militariter . . . excepit] He received their acclamations with a

short soldier-like speech, and then, going about other business, found everything else as favourable as his own men's temper, and favourable news streaming in. *Laeta omnia* includes more than good news from a distance, but *affluentia* specifies this, and is explained by describing the good news from Mucianus.

3 id ipsum] That Vespasian should be called *Imperator* by *his own* soldiers—who alone could give the title, according to custom.

ubi illis consultare mos est] Not the Athenian custom, but that of most Greek democracies, or states where there was an Ecclesia at all; at least in the decline of Greek political life. We may remember the meeting at Tarentum, which precipitated the war of Pyrrhus.

satis decorus . . . ostentator] The second clause at least is meant as a questionable compliment—he was a vain man, though he had too good taste to make his vanity ridiculous. Not impossibly the former is so too; it was all very well to be an elegant speaker and a linguist.

aeque provinciam exercitumque accendit quam quod adseverabat Mucianus statuisset Vitellium, ut Germanicas legiones in Suriam ad militiam opulentam quietamque transferret, contra Suriacis legionibus Germanica hiberna, caelo ac laboribus dura, mutarentur. Quippe et provinciales sueto militum contubernio 5 gaudebant, plerique necessitudinibus et propinquitatibus mixti; et militibus vetustate stipendiorum nota et familiaria castra in 81 modum penatium diligeantur. Ante Idus Julius Suria omnis in eodem sacramento fuit. Accessere cum regno Sohaemus haud spernendis viribus, Antiochus vetustis opibus ingens, et inservientium regum ditissimus. Mox per occultos suorum 2 nuntios excitus ab urbe Agrippa, ignaro adhuc Vitellio, celeri navigatione properaverat. Nec minore animo regina Berenice partes juvabat, florens aetate formaque, et seni quoque Vespasiano magnificentia munerum grata. Quicquid provinciarum 3 adluitur mari Asia atque Achaia tenus, quantumque introrsus in Pontum et Armenios patescit, juravere. Sed inermes legati regebant, nondum additis Cappadociae legionibus. Consilium 4

but a Roman lowered his dignity by laying himself out for the applause of Greeks.

5 *plerique . . . mixti*] If a fourth of each maniple (i. 46. 4) was usually off duty and mixed with the civil population, barrack-life would be less unbroken, and the intercourse between the soldiers and the civil population freer than in modern regular armies, and the obstacles to soldiers marrying proportionately less.

vetustate stipendiorum] Except for the exigencies of a campaign now and then, and such more permanent changes as the conquest of Britain, the legions had been rarely transferred since the settlement of the empire.

CH. LXXXI. 1 *cum regno Sohaemus*] *Ann.* xiii. 7. 2.

Antiochus . . . ditissimus] See on 25. 3.

2 *ab urbe Agrippa*] He had started thither with Titus to congratulate Galba, but unlike him (sup. 1, 2) went on in hopes to gain credit with the new emperor. If he had gained the character of an Othonian, a union between him and Vespasian was for the interests of both.

florens aetate] She must have been at least forty, twelve years older than her lover. Both in Italy and the East women of this period seem to have retained their charms late, in spite of what we should think unnaturally early marriages.

seni quoque Vespasiano] Her attractions to the younger being notorious, and having been mentioned by Tacitus in c. 2. 1, 2.

3 *nondum . . . legionibus*] They were first sent there by Vespasian when emperor.

de summa rerum Beryti habitum. Illuc Mucianus cum legatis
tribunisque et splendidissimo quoque centurionum ac militum
venit, et e Judaico exercitu lecta decora. Tantum simul pedi- 5
tum equitumque, et aemulantium inter se regum paratus,
speciem fortunae principalis effecerant. Prima belli cura,
82 agere delectus, revocare veteranos. Destinantur validae civi-
tates exercendis armorum officinis; apud Antiochenses aurum
argentumque signatur; eaque cuncta per idoneos ministros,
suis quaeque locis, festinabantur. Ipse Vespasianus adire, 2
hortari, bonos laude, segnes exemplo incitare, saepius quam
coërcere, vitia magis amicorum quam virtutes dissimulans.
Multos praefecturis et procurationibus, plerosque senatorii
ordinis honore percoluit, egregios viros et mox summa adeptos;
quibusdam fortuna pro virtutibus fuit. Donativom militi 3
neque Mucianus prima contione, nisi modice, ostenderat; ne
Vespasianus quidem plus civili bello obtulit, quam alii in pace,
egregie firmus adversus militarem largitionem, eoque exercitu
meliore. Missi ad Parthum Armeniumque legati, provisumque 4
ne, versis ad civile bellum legionibus, terga nudarentur.
Titum instare Judaeae, Vespasianum obtinere claustra Aegypti
placuit. Sufficere videbantur adversus Vitellium pars copiarum 5

5 **speciem . . . effecerant**] Made him look like a *de facto* emperor, not merely a claimant for empire.

CH. LXXXII. 1 **revocare**] Or. quotes an inscription which seems to show that this was a technical term applied to men discharged from ordinary service, but still liable to be summoned on occasion. The *evocati* were volunteers, so that the act. of that verb would be less appropriate.

2 **segnes**] Opposed to *bonos*, for the opposite fault, we are told, was passed over.

vitia . . . dissimulans] Explained by what follows; he found excuses for promoting all his prominent partisans, and as most of them justified their promotion by merit,

this served to cover the cases of those promoted without.

3 **neque M. . . ne V. quidem**] Mucianus, liberal as he was, and even Vespasian, dependent as he was on the army's devotion, did not think to buy it by such lavishness.

quam alii in pace] Claudius had given fifteen (Suetonius) or twenty (Josephus) sesteritia a man, and Nero (*Ann.* xii. 69. 3) apparently the same; Vespasian probably gave the largest sum allowed by their precedents.

4 **claustra Aegypti**] Not 'the passes into Egypt' (C. and B.), but 'the keys of Egypt,' *i.e.* the command of its ports and the export corn-trade to Rome.

et dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen, ac nihil arduum fatis.
 Ad omnes exercitus legatosque scriptae epistolae, praeceptum-
 que, ut praetorianos Vitellio infensos reciperae militiae
 83 praemio invitarent. Mucianus cum expedita manu, socium
 magis imperii quam ministrum agens, non lento itinere, ne
 cunctari videretur, neque tamen properans, gliscere famam
 ipso spatio sinebat, gnarus modicas vires sibi, et majora credi
 de absentibus. Sed legio sexta et tredecim vexillariorum milia 2
 ingenti agmine sequebantur. Classem e Ponto Byzantium
 adigi jusserat, ambiguus consilii, num, omissa Moesia, Dyr-
 rhachium pedite atque equite, simul longis navibus versum
 in Italiam mare clauderet, tuta pone tergum Achaia Asiaque,
 quas inermes exponi Vitellio, ni praesidiis firmarentur; atque
 ipsum Vitellium in incerto fore quam partem Italiae protegeret,
 si sibi Brundisium Tarentumque et Calabriae Lucaniaeque
 84 litora infestis classibus peterentur. Igitur navium, militum,
 armorum paratu strepere provinciae. Sed nihil aeque fatiga-
 bat quam pecuniarum conquisitio: eos esse belli civilis nervos

5 Sufficere . . . fatis] 'It seemed enough to oppose to Vitellius a part of their forces, the conduct of Mucianus, the name of Vespasian, and lastly the omnipotence of destiny.' There is a sarcasm in *dux Mucianus* as well as *adversus Vitellium*: Mucianus was not exactly a stick, but it was no compliment to use him to beat a dog with. As it turned out, his generalship was never put to the proof: Antonius Primus had decided the campaign before he reached Italy.

praetorianos] See 67. I, iii. 24.

3. CH. LXXXIII. I socium . . . imperii] So *consortem imperii*, iii. 75. 3.

2 tredecim vexillariorum milia] The *revocati veterani* of 82. I.

Classsem] 40 ships.

Dyrrhachium . . . clauderet]

Close the main port of communication with the south-eastern peninsula, and then impede the navigation to more distant ones. The reader will easily see and regret the temptation felt by the copyists of the secondary mss. to add *peteret* after *equite*.

CH. LXXXIV. I belli civilis nervos] So Cic. *Phil.* v. 2. 5, where he is speaking of a civil war, but does not use the epithet, which seems to indicate that then as now the phrase was proverbial without it. But the restriction to civil war was more necessary in the age of the Roman empire than in modern times. A war like that between Vitellius and Vespasian was more like one between two civilized European states than an invasion of Germany or Dacia would have been. It was only a civil war that

dictitans Mucianus, non jus aut verum in cognitionibus, sed solam magnitudinem opum spectabat. Passim delationes, et ² locupletissimus quisque in praedam correpti. Quae gravia atque intoleranda, sed necessitate armorum excusata, etiam in pace mansere, ipso Vespasiano, inter initia imperii, ad obtinendas iniquitates haud perinde obstinante, donec indulgentia fortunae et pravis magistris didicit aususque est. Propriis ³ quoque opibus Mucianus bellum juvit, largus privatim, quod avidius de re publica sumeret. Ceteri conferendarum pecuniarum exemplum secuti: rarissimus quisque eandem in recipiendo licentiam habuerunt.

85 Adcelerata interim Vespasiani coepta Illyrici exercitus studio, transgressi in partes. Tertia legio exemplum ceteris

caused *acies paribus concurrere telis* (cf. iii. 27. 4), and it tended to be a war between two armies, not between an invading army and a nation in arms; which would prevent the commander making 'war support war' without restrictions of conscience or prudence. The attraction of *eos* to agree with the predicate is familiar, e.g. *Aen.* vi. 129.

in cognitionibus, etc.] All pending trials had to be hurried on before the proconsul's departure; and then he gave judgment, right or wrong, against every one whose property was worth confiscating or fining—perhaps also in favour of any one who could only afford to bribe.

2 Quae . . . mansere] Probably not actual corruption, but the harsh enforcement of vexatious claims of the Fiscus: cf. *Juv.* iv. 46-56.

ad obtinendas iniquitates] 'In holding his ground when wrong,' 'maintaining unjust acts.' *Haud perinde* may mean, not so much as Mucianus, or not as much as he himself did afterwards.

3 quod avidius] One copyist not absurdly conjectures *quo*. The fact is, that Tacitus begins the sentence, meaning to put side

by side in contrast Mucianus's private liberality and avarice at the public cost. Then, when he has (as he intended) stated the first absolutely, it occurs to him to say, it was *proportioned* to the second: the proper Latin for this would have been *eo privatim largior quo avidius*, etc. But he does not want to alter the positive statement *largus privatim*, and if he put *quo* without the correlative comp. preceding, it would be worse than ambiguous, as it would naturally mean 'liberal in order that he might take,' which is not the sense intended. Accordingly, he writes *quod* for *quo*, leaving in the comp. *avidius* the one trace of the constr. that occurred to him in the middle of the sentence.

rarissimus quisque] 'It was at very wide intervals that you found any one who . . .' The use of *quisque* is more akin to that with *quotus* and ordinal numerals, than to the one with ordinary superlatives; but *Cic. Fin.* ii. 25. 81, *optimum quidque rarissimum*, may be admitted as a partial illustration.

CH. LXXXV. I **Illyrici**] Illyricum includes both Moesia,

Moesiae legionibus praebuit. Octava erat ac septima Claudiana inbutae favore Othonis, quamvis praelio non interfuissent. Aquileiam progressae, proturbatis qui de Othone nuntiabant,² laceratisque vexillis nomen Vitellii praeferentibus, rapta postremo pecunia et inter se divisa, hostiliter egerant. Unde metus, et ex metu consilium : posse imputari Vespasiano quae apud Vitellium excusanda erant. Ita tres Moesicae legiones³ per epistolas adliciebant Pannonicum exercitum, aut abnuenti vim parabant. In eo motu Aponius Saturninus, Moesiae rector, pessimum facinus audet, misso centurione ad interficiendum Tettium Julianum, septimae legionis legatum, ob similtates, quibus causam partium praetendebat. Julianus, comperto discrimine, et gnaris locorum adscitis, per avia Moesiae ultra montem Haemum profugit. Nec deinde civili bello interfuit, per varias moras susceptum ad Vespasianum⁸⁶ iter trahens, et ex nuntiis cunctabundus aut properans. At in Pannonia tertia decima legio ac septima Galbiana, dolorem iramque Bedriacensis pugnae retinentes, haud cunctanter Vespasiano accessere, vi praecipua Primi Antonii. Is legibus² nocens et tempore Neronis falsi damnatus, inter alia belli mala, senatorium ordinem recipaverat. Praepositus a Galba septimae legioni scriptitasse Othoni credebatur, ducem se partibus offerens ; a quo neglectus in nullo Othoniani belli usu fuit. Labantibus Vitellii rebus Vespasianum secutus³ grande momentum addidit, strenuus manu, sermone promptus,

Pannonia, and Dalmatia. *Tertia*, see 74. 2. For the other legions, see 46. 6.

² **nomen V. praeferentibus]** So iii. 13. 4, 31. 3. The name as well as the figure of the emperor was inscribed on the standard : and the custom seems traceable back to the times of the Republic, or at least was supposed to have existed then by writers of the empire.

pecunia] The military chest,

which was now administered in Vitellius' name.

³ **septimae]** The Claudian already mentioned.

CH. LXXXVI. **1 tertia decima]** II. 2, 43. 3, 67. 2 ; the 7th is mentioned also in the first and last passages.

² **falsi damnatus . . . ordinem recipaverat]** We have the forgery described in *Ann.* xiv. 40. Compare i. 77. 6.

serendae in alios invidiae artifex, discordiis et seditionibus potens, raptor, largitor, pace pessimus, bello non spernendus. Juncti inde Moesici ac Pannonici exercitus Delmaticum militem 4 traxere, quamquam consularibus legatis nihil turbantibus. Titus Ampius Flavianus Pannoniam, Pompeius Silvanus Delmatiam tenebant, divites senes. Sed procurator aderat 5 Cornelius Fuscus, vicens aetate, claris natalibus. Prima juvena, quietis cupidine, senatorium ordinem exuerat. Idem 6 pro Galba dux coloniae suae, eaque opera procurationem adeptus, susceptis Vespasiani partibus, acerrimam bello facem praetulit: non tam praemiis periculorum quam ipsis periculis laetus, pro certis et olim partis, nova, ambigua, ancipitia malebat. Igitur movere et quater, quicquid usquam aegrum foret, 7 adgrediuntur. Scriptae in Britanniam ad quartadecimanos, in Hispaniam ad primanos epistolae, quod utraque legio pro Othone adversa Vitellio fuerat. Sparguntur per Gallias literae; 8 momentoque temporis flagrabat ingens bellum, Illyricis exercitibus palam desciscentibus, ceteris fortunam secuturis.

87 Dum haec per provincias a Vespasiano ducibusque partium geruntur, Vitellius contemptior in dies segniorque, ad omnes municipiorum villarumque amoenitates resistens, gravi urbem

3 raptor, largitor] See on 10.

3. 5 procurator] Some think, of both provinces; if this be impossible, probably of the last mentioned.

Cornelius Fuscus] Afterwards killed in the Dacian war under Domitian. The character here given of him illustrates the significance of Juvenal's *marmorea meditatus praelia villa* (iv. 112); he had a sincere and zealous liking both for *quies* and for *pericula*: he enjoyed considerable and honourable danger, but disliked the worries of civic business that occupied a senator when not in a province.

senatorium ordinem exuerat]

Which accounts for our finding him a procurator, an office always held by an *eques* at highest.

6 coloniae suae] Impossible to identify.

7 adgrediuntur] Or. takes the subject to be *Vespasianus et partium duces*. But *igitur* has a better force, if we take it of Primus and Fuscus, whose desire for disturbance has been expressly noted.

quartadecimanos . . . primanos] See 66 sq.

CH. LXXXVII. 1 resistens] Making a dead stop, so that you had to bring a fresh force into action every time, to get him to move on again.

agmine petebat. Sexaginta milia armatorum sequebantur, 2
 licentia corrupta; calorum numerus amplior, procacissimis
 etiam inter servos lixarum ingeniis; tot legatorum amicorumque
 comitatus inhabilis ad parendum, etiam si summa modestia
 regeretur. Onerabant multitudinem obvii ex urbe senatores 3
 equitesque, quidam metu, multi per adulationem, ceteri ac
 paulatim omnes, ne, aliis proficiscentibus, ipsi remanerent.
 Adgregabantur e plebe, flagitiosa per obsequia Vitellio cogniti, 4
 scurrae, histriones, aurigae, quibus ille amicitiarum dehonestam-
 mentis mire gaudebat. Nec coloniae modo aut municipia, 5
 congestu copiarum, sed ipsi cultores arvaeque, maturis jam
 88 frugibus, ut hostile solum vastabantur. Multae et atroces
 inter se militum caedes, post seditionem Ticini coeptam
 manente legionum auxiliorumque discordia; ubi adversus
 paganos certandum foret, consensu. Sed plurima strages ad 2
 septimum ab urbe lapidem. Singulis ibi militibus Vitellius
 paratos cibos ut gladiatoriam saginam dividebat; et effusa
 plebes totis se castris miscuerat. Incuriosos milites (vernacula 3
 utebantur urbanitate,) quidam spoliavere, abscisis furtim balteis,

2 **Sexaginta milia**] Allowing for losses in battle and camp, Valens and Caecina must have had as many, besides those brought up by Vitellius himself. Large numbers therefore must have been detached on furlough.

armatorum . . . calorum] Compare iii. 33. 1.

3 **Onerabant multitudinem**] The numbers of the army made it hard to manage; these visitors made it altogether unmanageable.

ceteri ac paulatim omnes] 'The rest' of those who came, who amounted gradually to 'all' who were at Rome.

CH. LXXXVIII. **seditionem Ticini coeptam**] See c. 68. sq., also 27. 3.

2 **singulis . . . dividebat**] A measure quite capable of an honour-

able interpretation: see on i. 52. 1. What would Tacitus have said of Napoleon, who, in the anxious interval between Aspern and Wagram, found time to hang a contractor for leaving his men unsupplied with wine? For the technical sense of *sagina*, a gladiator's training diet, compare Prop. v. 8. 25; from Quint. x. 5. 17, *quasi militantes . . . reficit ac repara haec velut sagina dicendi*, it almost seems as though it came to be used without a sneer of soldiers' rations.

3 **vernacula . . . urbanitate**] *Vernula urbanitas* is used in the same sense in Petronius. It may be doubted whether the sense is exactly 'the humour of slaves'—rather of people who feel themselves 'at home.'

an accincti forent rogitanter. Non tulit ludibrium insolens contumeliae animus: inermem populum gladiis invasere. Caesus inter alios pater militis, cum filium comitaretur; deinde + agnitus, et, volgata caede, temperatum ab innoxiiis. In urbe tamen trepidatum, praecurrentibus passim militibus. Forum maxime petebant, cupidine visendi locum in quo Galba jacuisset. Nec minus saevum spectaculum erant ipsi, tergis ferarum 5 et ingentibus telis horrentes, cum turbam populi per inscitiam parum vitarent, aut, ubi lubrico viae vel occurso alicujus procidissent, ad jurgium, mox ad manus et ferrum transirent. Quin et tribuni praefectique cum terrore et armatorum catervis 89 volitabant. Ipse Vitellius a ponte Mulvio, insigni equo, paludatus accinctusque, senatum et populum ante se agens, quo minus ut captam urbem ingrederetur, amicorum consilio deteritus, sumpta praetexta et composito agmine incessit. Quattuor 2 legionum aquilae per frontem, totidemque circa e legionibus aliis vexilla, mox duodecim alarum signa, et post peditum ordines eques; dein quattuor et triginta cohortes, ut nomina gentium aut species armorum forent, discretas. Ante aquilam 3 praefecti castrorum tribunique et primi centurionum, candida veste; ceteri juxta suam quisque centuriam, armis donisque

accincti] Whether their side-arms were safe.

4 locum in quo G. jacuisset] Affecting to consider themselves as his avengers on his murderers, though their original revolt had been against him: see 55. 2.

5 saevum] M. has *scaevum*, which the scribe may have written not from mere carelessness but in the sense of 'ill-omened,'—which however is not found before Appuleius.

tergis . . . horrentes] Compare *Aen.* v. 37.

CH. LXXXIX. 1] For the form of sentence, describing first what nearly happened and then what prevented it, cf. 41. 4. Sue-

tonius asserts that he *did* enter the city in arms: Tacitus admits that he came close to it, and that he entered in military state, though he softened the appearance as concerned himself personally.

Mulvio] M. has *Mulvi* here and at iii. 82. 1, and the gen. is not impossibly right; but the usual adjectival form is used at i. 87. 1, *Ann.* xiii. 47. 2.

2 quattuor . . . totidemque circa] The four eagles in the middle, two *vexilla* on each side: see on 59. 4.

3 aquilam] The singular indicates that we are to understand *suam quisque aquilam* just as in the next line, not simply *ante aquilas*.

fulgentes. Et militum phalerae torquesque splendebant. Decora facies, et non Vitellio principe dignus exercitus. Sic 4 Capitolium ingressus, atque ibi matrem complexus, Augustae 90 nomine honoravit. Postera die, tanquam apud alterius civitatis senatum populumque, magnificam orationem de semet ipso prompsit, industriam temperantiamque suam laudibus adtollens, consciis flagitiorum ipsis qui aderant omnique Italia, per quam somno et luxu pudendus incesserat. Volgus tamen, 2 vacuum curis, et sine falsi verique discrimine solitas adulationes edoctum, clamore et vocibus adstrepebat; abnuentique nomen Augusti expressere ut adsumeret, tam frustra quam recusa- 91 verat. Apud civitatem, cuncta interpretantem, funesti ominis loco acceptum est, quod maximum pontificatum adeptus Vitellius de caerimoniis publicis xv. Kalendas Augustas edixisset, antiquitus infausto die Cremerensi Alliensi- que cladi- bus. Adeo omnis humani divinique juris experts, pari liber- 2 torum, amicorum socordia, velut inter temulentos agebat. Sed comitia consulum cum candidatis civiliter celebrans,

4 matrem] 64. 3, iii. 67. 2.

CH. XC. 1 alterius] The word is used because the contrast is suggested with the single one, his own. Or. compares *Ag.* 17. 3, *alterius successoris*, 'any other' than the actual one, Frontinus; also, less reasonably, *alterius belli* in iii. 1. 4.

industriam temperantiamque] opposed to *somno et luxu*. But Vitellius meant by *temperantia* not temperance, but modesty—refusing titles, perhaps also abstaining from confiscations.

2 tam frustra] 'As idly.' Tacitus means rather that Vitellius with or without the name was ridiculous, than that nothing came of his taking or declining it. The refusal lost whatever significance it might have had, by his taking it for his mother.

recusaverat] 62. 3.

CH. XCI. 1 Cremerensi] Ovid places the overthrow of the Fabii

on February 13th (*Fast.* ii. 193 sqq.), perhaps it should have been their departure from Rome, as all other authorities (e.g. Liv. vi. 1) agree with Tacitus. Suetonius makes the bad omen consist in Vitellius receiving the pontificate on the *Alliensis dies*.

2 adeo . . . socordia] 'So ignorant was he . . . while his friends were as careless as he was ignorant.'

comitia . . . celebrans] As had been the practice of Augustus, while the elections were still formally conducted in the Campus. Since Tiberius' accession the consuls were elected (of course on the emperor's nomination) in the Senate, and the result announced in the Campus. Pliny in his Panegyric explains these words, by his description of Trajan's conduct, who, he says, used to behave with equal courtesy to Senate and people.

omnem infimae plebis rumorem, in theatro ut spectator, in circo ut fautor, adfectavit. Quae grata sane et popularia, si 3 a virtutibus proficiscerentur, memoria vitae prioris indecora et vilia accipiebantur. Ventitabat in senatum, etiam cum parvis de rebus patres consulerentur. Ac forte Priscus Helvidius, praetor designatus, contra studium ejus censuerat. Commotus primo Vitellius, non tamen ultra quam tribunos plebis in auxilium spretae potestatis advocavit. Mox miti- 5 gantibus amicis, qui altiore iracundiam ejus verebantur, nihil novi accidisse, respondit, quod duo senatores in republica dissentirent; solitum se etiam Thraseae contradicere. Inrisere 6 plerique inpudentiam aemulationis; aliis id ipsum placebat, quod neminem ex praepotentibus, sed Thraseam, ad exemplar 92 verae gloriae legisset. Praeposuerat praetorianis Publium Sabinum, a praefectura cohortis, Julium Priscum tum centurionem: Priscus Valentis, Sabinus Caecinae gratia pollebant. Inter discordes Vitellio nihil auctoritatis. Munia imperii 2 Caecina ac Valens obibant, olim anxii odiis, quae bello et castris male dissimulata pravitas amicorum et fecunda gignendis inimicitiis civitas auxerat, dum ambitu, comitatu, et

ut fautor] Of the blue faction, the second largest, and best worth conciliating.

3 grata sane et popularia] So Augustus thought it *civile*, *Ann.* i. 54. 3.

4 spretae potestatis] He affects to consider their interests as identical with his: the *tribunicia potestas* has been outraged, so it becomes the tribunes to interfere.

5 altiore iracundiam] That there was greater anger deeply seated than what was displayed.

Thraseae] Conciliatory not only to the Senate, but to Helvidius himself, his son-in-law. We may gather from *Ann.* xvi. 21. 1 that Thrasea's character commanded a respect not confined to stoics and doctrinaire republicans: but it is generally held that Helvidius did

much to provoke if not to deserve his death under Vespasian; and Vitellius' avoidance of a rupture with him can hardly be denied to do credit, either to his good temper, or to the sincerity of his anti-caesarian feelings.

6 ad exemplar] Not merely 'as a type,' but 'as his model.' He wished, as *princeps senatus*, to hold the position that Thrasea had held as first man in the senate.

CH. XCII. 1 a praefectura . . . tum centurionem] They were promoted by interest, over the heads of their superior officers.

discordes] Perhaps the repetition of the names *Caecina ac Valens* in the next sentence is to show that this word refers to Sabinus and Priscus. The two generals managed everything, and the emperor went

immensis salutantium agminibus contendunt comparanturque, variis in hunc aut illum Vitellii inclinationibus. Nec unquam 3 satis fida potentia, ubi nimia est. Simul ipsum Vitellium, subitis offensis aut intempestivis blanditiis mutabilem, contemnebant metuebantque. Nec eo segnius invaserant domos, 4 hortos, opesque imperii, cum flebilis et egens nobilium turba, quos ipsos liberosque patriae Galba reddiderat, nulla principis misericordia juvantur. Gratum primoribus civitatis etiam 5 plebs adprobavit, quod reversis ab exsilio jura libertorum concessisset, quamquam id omni modo servilia ingenia corrumpebant, abditis pecuniis per occultos aut ambitiosos sinus, et quidam in domum Caesaris transgressi, atque ipsis dominis potentiores.

- 93 Sed miles, plenis castris et redundante multitudine, in porticibus aut delubris et urbe tota vagus, non principia noscere, non servare vigilias, neque labore firmari: per illecebras urbis et inhonesta dictu, corpus otio, animum libidinibus imminuebant. Postremo, ne salutis quidem cura, infamibus Vaticani 2 locis magna pars tetendit; unde crebrae in volgus mortes.

for nothing; therefore, if their two creatures quarrelled, he could not keep the peace, but the principals had to fight it out.

3 *Nec unquam . . . simul ipsum . . . mutabilem*] Two reasons are given for their having no personal attachment to Vitellius. The position of a court-favourite forbids confidence, and Vitellius' character did not deserve it.

5 *jura libertorum*] 'Their rights over their freedmen;' which had an appreciable money value, as including the claim to levy 'benevolences' on them, and to share in their inheritance. These rights had been (so to speak) confiscated with their other property, and unlike the rest could be restored without wrong to any one, for the freedmen could not be considered to have any moral

title to their independence.

per occultos aut ambitiosos sinus] 'Distributed in pockets, either out of sight, or at the command of intrigue,' i.e. so powerful that no one could get at them, except by the insinuating arts of those who deposited the money there. *Sinus* is properly the front fold of the *toga*; for the metonymic use, compare iii. 19. 3, iv. 14. 4, and perhaps *Ann.* xiii. 13. 2.

Caesaris] Cf. 65. 2, n.

CH. XCIII. I. *castris*] The Praetorian.

porticibus aut delubris] Cf. i. 31. 2, 3.

2 *infamibus*] Used of a dangerous place (though in a different way) in Hor. *Od.* i. 3. 20; Or. quotes from Frontinus a passage where *infamis aer* is used exactly in his sense.

Et adjacente Tiberi, Germanorum Gallorumque obnoxia morbis corpora fluminis aviditas et aestus impatientia labefecit. Insuper confusus pravitae vel ambitu ordo militiae. Sedecim 3 praetoriae, quattuor urbanae cohortes scribebantur, quibus singula milia inessent. Plus in eo delectu Valens audebat, tamquam ipsum Caecinam periculo exemisset. Sane adventu ejus partes 4 convaluerant, et sinistrum lenti itineris rumorem prospero praelio verterat. Omnisque inferioris Germaniae miles Valentem adsectabatur; unde primum creditur Caecinae fides flui- 94 tasse. Ceterum non ita ducibus indulgit Vitellius ut non plus militi liceret. Sibi quisque militiam sumpsere: quamvis indignus, si ita maluerat, urbanae militiae adscribebatur; rursus bonis remanere inter legionarios aut alares volentibus permissum. Nec deerant qui vellent, fessi morbis et intem- 2 periem caeli incusantes. Robora tamen legionibus alisque subtracta, convolsum castrorum decus, viginti milibus e toto exercitu permixtis magis quam electis.

Contionante Vitellio, postulatur ad supplicium Asiaticus 3 et Flavius et Rufinus, duces Galliarum, quod pro Vindice bellâssent. Nec coercere ejusmodi voces Vitellius: super

3 **Sedecim praetoriae, quattuor urbanae cohortes]** Under Tiberius, there were nine of the former and three of the latter, *Ann.* iv. 5. 4; perhaps it is likely that the number had been increased gradually. But the old praetorians had been dismissed, 67. 1.

3, 4 **Caecinam periculo exemisset . . . lenti itineris]** 26. 3, 27. 1, 30. 1, 2.

Ch. XCIV. 1 **urbanae militiae]** always includes service in the praetorian as well as the city cohorts.

alares seems from the context to mean Roman, not auxiliary cavalry; it is not likely that the laxity went so far as to admit the latter to the city service. So *alis* in the next § must mean the *ala* attached to each

legion, not the detached *alae* of the allies.

2 **convolsum castrorum decus]** The new praetorians had no superiority in discipline, for as many of them were bad troops as good; the name gave them no superiority in reputation, because the rest of the troops knew this, and some had refused the transfers. So they gained nothing to counterbalance the loss of the legions.

3 **duces]** Native chieftains; they are usually called *principes*, but here the word follows in the next § in the sense of 'emperors.' He gives them no Gentile names, doubtless because they were all Claudii or Julii.

Nec coercere . . . largiebatur

insitam marcenti animo ignaviam, conscius sibi instare donativom, et deesse pecuniam, omnia alia militi largiebatur. Liberti principum conferre pro numero mancipiorum, ut 4 tributum, jussi. Ipse, sola perdendi cura, stabula aurigis exstruere, circum gladiatorum ferarumque spectaculis opplere, 95 tamquam in summa abundantia pecuniae inludere. Quin et natalem Vitellii diem Caecina ac Valens, editis tota urbe vikatim gladiatoribus, celebravere, ingenti paratu et ante illum diem insolito. Laetum foedissimo cuique, apud bonos invidiae 2 fuit, quod exstructis in campo Martio aris inferias Neroni fecisset. Caesae publice victimae cremataeque; facem Augus- 3 tales subdidere: quod sacerdotium, ut Romulus Tatius regi, ita Caesar Tiberius Juliae genti sacrauit. Nondum quartus a 4 victoria mensis, et libertus Vitellii, Asiaticus, Polyclitos, Patrobios, et vetera odiorum nomina aequabat. Nemo in illa aula probitate aut industria certavit; unum ad potentiam iter, prodigis epulis et sumptu ganeaue satiare inexplebiles Vitellii libidines. Ipse abunde ratus si praesentibus frueretur, nec in longius consultans, novies milies sestertium paucissimis mensibus intervertisse creditur. Magna et misera civitas, eodem anno 6 Othonem Vitelliumque passa, inter Vinios, Fabios, Icelos, Asiaticos, varia et pudenda sorte agebat, donec succedere Mucianus et Marcellus, et magis alii homines quam alii mores,

implies, without saying, that they were executed.

4 **principum**] Of former emperors.

pecuniae] A dat.; 'fooling away his money,' C. and B.

CH. XCV. 1 **natalem Vitellii diem**] Curiously enough, Suetonius could not ascertain whether this was the 7th or 24th of September. And either way he makes his birth two years later than Tacitus; see iii. 86. 1.

3 **Romulus Tatius regi**] In *Ann.* i. 54. 1, the *Titii sodales* are said to have been founded by Tatius him-

self: there, as here, it is intimated that Tiberius quoted the precedent.

4 **Nondum . . . aequabat**] Compare i. 37. 8.

6 **Vinios, Fabios, Icelos, Asiaticos**] After the pair of bad emperors, follow two pairs of bad favourites, belonging to different classes. Caecina is left out, partly for symmetry, and partly because he was not avaricious.

Marcellus] His influence perhaps was increased after the fall of his enemy Helvidius; still it is curious that he should be referred to Vespasian's reign, instead of

- 96 Prima Vitellio tertiae legionis defectio nuntiatur, missis ab Aponio Saturnino epistolis, antequam is quoque Vespasiani partibus adgregaretur. Sed neque Aponius cuncta, ut trepidans re subita, perscripserat, et amici adulantes mollius interpretabantur: unius legionis eam seditionem, ceteris exercitibus constare fidem. In hunc modum etiam Vitellius apud milites 3 disseruit, praetorianos nuper exauctoratos insectatus, a quibus falsos rumores dispergi, nec ullum civilis belli metum, adseverabat, suppresso Vespasiani nomine, et vagis per urbem militibus 97 qui sermones populi coërcerent. Id praecipuum alimentum famae erat. Auxilia tamen e Germania Britanniaque et Hispaniis excivit, segniter et necessitatem dissimulans. Perinde legati provinciaeque cunctabantur, Hordeonius Flaccus suspectis jam Batavis anxius proprio bello, Vettius Bolanus nunquam satis quieta Britannia, et uterque ambigui. Neque ex 2 Hispaniis properabatur, nullo tum ibi consulari: trium legionum legati, pares jure et, prosperis Vitellii rebus, certaturi ad obsequium, adversam ejus fortunam ex aequo detrectabant. In Africa legio cohortesque, delectae a Clodio Macro, mox a 3 Galba dimissae, rursus jussu Vitellii militiam cepere. Simul cetera juvenus dabat inpigre nomina. Quippe integrum illic 4 ac favorabilem proconsulatum Vitellius, famosum invisumque

being regarded as a survival from Nero's. He was put to death as a sharer in Caecina's conspiracy.

CH. XCVI. 1 *tertiaae legionis* . . . *Aponio Saturnino*] 85. 1, 3. 3 *suppresso V. nomine*] Either trying or affecting to believe that Vespasian himself had not revolted (cf. 73. 1) he disguises the fact that this legion had revolted in his cause.

CH. XCVII. 1 *Perinde*] Just the same way as the emperor.

ambigui] Flaccus continued to hesitate till after the battle of Cremona, iv. 24. 4, 31. 3. Bolanus apparently devoted himself to keep-

ing his men out of civil discord, i. 9. 3, *Agr.* 16. 6.

2 *nullo . . . consulari*] Cluvius Rufus had left it, 65. 1.

3 *a Clodio Macro*] i. 7. 1, 11. 2.

4 *favorabilem*] A silver-age word, first found in Velleius: the subst. *favor* itself was new in Cicero's time, *Pro Sest.* 54. 115. In the *Dial. de Or.* (7. 1) the adj. is used in a somewhat different sense, 'not apt to bestow *favor*,' *favorabilis oratio* in *Ann.* ii. 37. 1, xii. 6. 1 is more like this.

famosum invisumque] Suetonius gives a much more favourable account of it.

Vespasianus egerat : proinde socii de imperio utriusque con-
 98 jectabant. Sed experimentum contra fuit. Ac primo Valerius
 Festus, legatus, studia provincialium cum fide juvit ; mox
 nutabat, palam epistolis edictisque Vitellium, occultis nuntiis
 Vespasianum fovens, et haec illave defensurus, prout inval-
 issent. Deprehensi cum literis edictisque Vespasiani per ²
 Raetiam et Gallias militum et centurionum quidam, ad Vitel-
 lium missi necantur : plures fefellere, fide amicorum aut suomet
 astu occultati. Ita Vitellii paratus noscebantur, Vespasiani ³
 consiliorum pleraque ignota, primum socordia Vitellii ; dein
 Pannonicae Alpes praesidiis insessae nuntios retinebant. Mare
 quoque Etesiarum flatu in Orientem navigantibus secundum,
 99 inde adversum erat. Tandem inruptione hostium, atrocibus
 undique nuntiis exterritus, Caecinam ac Valentem expedire ad
 bellum jubet. Praemissus Caecina : Valentem e gravi corporis
 morbo tum primum adsurgentem infirmitas tardabat. Longe ²
 alia proficiscentis ex urbe Germanici exercitus species : non
 vigor corporibus, non ardor animis ; lentum et rarum agmen,
 fluxa arma, segnes equi ; inpatiens solis, pulveris, tempestatum,
 quantumque hebes ad sustinendum laborem miles, tanto ad
 discordias promptior. Accedebat huc Caecinae ambitio vetus, ³
 torpor recens nimia fortunae indulgentia soluti in luxum : seu
 perfidiam meditati infringere exercitus virtutem inter artes
 erat. Credidere plerique Flavii Sabini consiliis concussam ⁴
 Caecinae mentem, ministro sermonum Rubrio Gallo : rata

CH. XCVIII. 1 **Valerius Festus]** He was related to Vitellius, iv. 49. 1.

3 **Pannonicae Alpes . . . Mare]** Isolated Illyricum and the east respectively.

Etesiarum] The N.W. monsoons of the Levant, usually reckoned to blow for forty days from July 20th.

CH. XCIX. 1 **expedire]** M. has *expeiri*, but see i. 88. 2, and note on i. 10. 3.

2 **Longe alia]** Than what it had been at its entry.

3 **ambitio vetus]** His old habit of courting the troops by humouring them.

seu . . . **inter artes erat]** Roman writers speak of 'luxury' in a half superstitious way, as though it were a definite custom or institution, deliberately adopted by or suggested to a community.

apud Vespasianum fore pacta transitionis. Simul odiorum 5
invidiaeque erga Fabium Valentem admonebatur, ut inpar
apud Vitellium, gratiam viresque apud novum principem
pararet.

100 Caecina e complexu Vitellii multo cum honore digressus,
partem equitum ad occupandam Cremonam praemisit. Mox
† vexilla in quattuor decum XIII. legionum, dein quinta et
duoetvicesima secutae ; postremo agmine unaetvicesima Rapax
et prima Italica incessere, cum vexillariis trium Britannicarum
legionum et electis auxiliis. Profecto Caecina scripsit Fabius 2
Valens exercitui quem ipse ductaverat, ut in itinere opperiretur :
sic sibi cum Caecina convenisse ; qui praesens, eoque validior,
immutatum id consilium finxit, ut ingruenti bello tota mole
occurreretur. Ita adcelerare legiones Cremonam, pars Hosti- 3
liam petere jussae : ipse Ravennam devertit, praetexto classem
adloquendi. Mox Patavii secretum componendae proditiōis
quaesitum. Namque Lucilius Bassus, post praefecturam alae, 4
Ravennati simul ac Misenensi classibus a Vitellio praepositus,
quod non statim praefecturam praetorii adeptus foret, iniquam
iracundiam flagitiosa perfidia ulciscabatur. Nec sciri potest

CH. C. 1 e complexu V.] His unsuspiciousness is dwelt on, as aggravating Caecina's treason ; but perhaps it is also meant to indicate a maudlin effusiveness on his part.

vexilla . . . legionum] So M., and Or. prints it as it stands, not being satisfied with any of the corrections proposed. From iii. 22. 2, it appears that the legions which marched with Caecina were (besides the 5th, 22d, 21st, and 1st Italian, and the vexilla of the 9th, 2d, and 20th, the 4th, 15th, 16th, and 1st (*Germanica*). The names of some or all of these no doubt occurred here ; very likely vexilla is corrupt, as well as the following words, since the whole of these eight legions seem to have been

present. Perhaps the source of the corruption is from a scribe having found the passage written in figures, and not known whether to express them by cardinal or ordinal numbers.

2 ductaverat] 'Had been (permanently) commander of.' This force, that of Lower Germany, included (i. 55. 2) the 1st, 5th, 15th, and 16th legions.

3] He first goes to Ravenna, and makes a speech to the troops belonging to the fleet : picks up Bassus (which perhaps was his sole design in going there), takes him to Patavium, apart from his own men, and arranges there for the betrayal of both fleet and army.

4 iniquam iracundiam] He had

traxeritne Caecinam, an (quod evenit inter malos, ut et similes
 101 sint,) eadem illos pravitas inpulerit. Scriptores temporum,
 qui potente rerum Flavia domo monumenta belli hujusce
 composuerunt, curam pacis et amorem reipublicae, corruptas
 in adulationem causas, tradidere. Nobis, super insitam levi-²
 tatem, et prodito Galba vilem mox fidem, aemulatione etiam
 invidiaeque, ne ab aliis apud Vitellium anteirentur, pervertisse
 ipsum videntur. Caecina legiones adsecutus, centurionum³
 militumque animos obstinatos pro Vitellio variis artibus
 subruebat. Basso eadem molienti minor difficultas erat, lubrica
 ad mutandam fidem classe ob memoriam recentis pro Othone
 militiae.

a better claim than Priscus, perhaps than Sabinus; but any tribune not clearly disqualified had a better claim than he.

CH. CL. I *Scriptores temporum*] Among whom was Mucianus himself.

Flavia domo] Down therefore to the end of Domitian's reign. Perhaps Bassus lived and flourished till then: Caecina was put to death by Titus' orders, shortly before the death of Vespasian, so that flattery to him cannot have been a necessary compliment to the Flavii.

corruptas . . . causas] 'Motives falsified by way of flattery.' For the sentiment, compare iii. 86. 4.

2 vilem mox fidem] 'The small

value set on allegiance *after* the betrayal of Galba.' *Mox* generally means 'afterwards' much more than 'soon.'

anteirentur . . . videntur] Some desire to read the sing., understanding it of Caecina alone, because he alone could be said to have betrayed Galba. But this is needless: Bassus was demoralised by treason he did not initiate.

ipsum] Sc. *Vitellium*; indeed, M. inserts the name. All edd. excise it as a gloss: yet it is not a pointless repetition to say, they were so jealous of Vitellius' regard, that they ruined Vitellius himself to secure it.

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INDEX

| | PAGE |
|---|--------------------------|
| ABBOTT (E.) | 6, 7, 30, 32, 33, 35, 45 |
| Acland (A. H. D.) | 8 |
| Ainger (A. C.) | 25 |
| Airy (O.) | 11 |
| Alford (Dean) | 38 |
| Aristophanes | 33, 36 |
| Aristotle | 36 |
| Arnold (F. S.) | 11 |
| — (T. K.) 12, 15, 24, 25, 26, 31, 32, 34, 35, | 36, 37, 41 |
| Awdry (H.) | 24 |
| BAKER (W.) | 40 |
| Barbier (P.) | 12 |
| Barrett (W. A.) | 41 |
| Beeching (H. C.) | 9 |
| Belcher (H.) | 27 |
| Bell (A. M.) | 11 |
| Bennett (G. L.) | 22, 44 |
| Benson (M. E.) | 42 |
| Bevir (J. L.) | 15 |
| Bigg (C.) | 37 |
| Blunt (J. H.) | 39, 40 |
| Boëlle (J.) | 12, 13 |
| Bowen (E. E.) | 13 |
| Boyd (H. F.) | 11 |
| Bradley (G. G.) | 24 |
| Bright (J. F.) | 6, 11 |
| Brooke (W. P.) | 26 |
| Browning (O.) | 8 |
| Brughera (F. V. E.) | 12 |
| Building Construction | 17 |
| Burton (J.) | 10 |
| CÆSAR | 22, 25, 26 |
| Carr (A.) | 37 |
| Catena Classicorum | 29 |
| Champneys (A. C.) | 25 |
| Cicero | 26, 28 |
| Clarke (A. D.) | 19 |
| Corneille | 13 |
| Cornish (F. W.) | 7 |
| Crake (A. D.) | 8, 42 |
| Creighton (L.) | 6, 7, 45 |
| — (M.) | 7, 41 |
| Crofts (E.) | 10 |
| Crusius (G. C.) | 35 |
| Cumming (L.) | 16 |
| DALLIN (T. F.) | 27, 33 |
| Dawe (C. J. S.) | 24, 40 |
| Demosthenes | 36 |
| Don (I.) | 42 |
| Donkin (A. E.) | 19 |

| | PAGE |
|------------------------------------|----------------|
| ELLIS (G. E. R.) | 16 |
| English Grammar | 9 |
| — School Classics | 11 |
| Euripides | 33, 34 |
| Eve (H. W.) | 11 |
| FEZENSAC | 13 |
| Frädersdorff | 15, 37 |
| Freytag | 15 |
| GANTILLON (P. J. F.) | 28, 33 |
| Gedge (J. W.) | 40 |
| Gepp (C. G.) | 24, 25, 26 |
| Gibson (C. H.) | 11 |
| Girdlestone (W. H.) | 19 |
| Glazebrook (M. G.) | 14 |
| Glünicke (G. J. R.) | 34 |
| Goethe | 15 |
| Goolden (W. T.) | 16 |
| Gosset (A. H.) | 13 |
| Goulburn (Dean) | 39 |
| Greek Plays, Scenes from | 33 |
| Green (A. H.) | 17 |
| — (W. C.) | 36 |
| Grenfell (E. F.) | 14 |
| Gross (E. J.) | 18 |
| HAGER (H.) | 15 |
| Hardy (E. G.) | 35 |
| Harris (W. H.) | 12 |
| Harrison (J. E.) | 35 |
| Hassall (A.) | 7 |
| Hauff | 15 |
| Heatley (H. R.) | 23, 26, 30, 45 |
| Hellenica, Essays | 35 |
| Herodotus | 33, 35 |
| Hertz (H. A.) | 10 |
| Heslop (G. H.) | 36 |
| Highways of History | 7 |
| Historical Biographies | 7 |
| Historical Handbooks | 8 |
| Hodges (C. H.) | 19 |
| Holden (F. T.) | 24 |
| Holmes (A.) | 27, 36 |
| Homer | 34, 35 |
| Horace | 28 |
| Horton (R. F.) | 8 |
| Hugo (Victor) | 13 |
| Huntington (H. E.) | 13 |
| Huxley (J. F.) | 42 |
| ISOCRATES | 35 |

INDEX.

| | PAGE | | PAGE |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|--|------------------------|
| JEBB (R. C.) | 37 | Richardson (G.) | 18 |
| Jennings (A. C.) | 8 | Rigg (A.) | 16 |
| Juvenal | 28 | Ritchie (F.) | 10, 23, 30 |
| KEYS TO CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE . | 39 | Rivington's Mathematical Series . | 18 |
| Keys, List of | 20 | Robinson (G. G.) | 14 |
| Kingdon (H. N.) | 23 | Rundall (G. W.) | 25 |
| Kitchener (F. A.) | 16 | Russell (W. E.) | 12 |
| LATIN TEXT | 25 | SALLUST | 26 |
| La Fontaine's Fables | 13 | Sandys (J. E.) | 35 |
| Lang (L. B.) | 41 | Sankey (C.) | 11 |
| Laughton (J. K.) | 41 | Sargent (J. Y.) | 27, 33 |
| Laun Van (H.) | 13 | Schiller | 15 |
| Lechner (A. R.) | 14, 15 | Schoemann | 35 |
| Lee (T. M.) | 42 | School of Life | 39 |
| Lessing's Fables | 15 | Seddon (H. C.) | 17 |
| Livy | 27 | Shakspeare | 9 |
| Locke (C. L. C.) | 10 | Sharp (G.) | 12, 13 |
| Lucian | 33 | Shenstone (W. A.) | 16 |
| MAC COLL (L.) | 42 | Sidgwick (A.) | 26, 31, 33, 34, 42, 44 |
| Mackay (J. M.) | 6 | — (C. S.) | 42 |
| Madvig | 32 | Simcox (G. A.) | 28, 37 |
| Magrath (J. R.) | 36 | — (W. H.) | 28 |
| Mann (J. S.) | 35 | Smith (J. Hamblin) . 9, 18, 26, 27, 32, 37, 43 | |
| Mansfield (E. D.) | 27, 30 | — (P. Bowden) | 13 |
| Manuals of Religious Instruction . | 39 | — (R. Prowde) | 24 |
| Marshall (J. M.) | 28 | — (W. P.) | 11 |
| — (L.) | 19 | Sophocles | 36, 37 |
| Martial | 26 | Spratt (A. W.) | 27, 32 |
| Matheson (P. E.) | 8 | Stephens (H. M.) | 7 |
| Mercier (J.) | 42 | Storr (E.) | 11 |
| Merryweather (J. H.) | 26 | — (F.) | 11, 15, 25, 32, 45 |
| Moberly (C. E.) | 9, 34, 35, 41 | Story (P.) | 41 |
| Molière | 13 | TACITUS | 28 |
| Moore (E.) | 36 | Tancock (C. C.) | 26 |
| — (E. H.) | 30, 34 | Taylor (R. W.) | 11, 26, 31, 34, 44 |
| Morgan (J. R.) | 26 | Terence | 28 |
| Morice (F. D.) | 31, 34 | Thiers | 13 |
| Morshead (E. D. A.) | 15 | Thompson (F. E.) | 31 |
| Muirhead (J. H.) | 28 | Thucydides | 34, 37 |
| Mullins (W. E.) | 11, 15 | Tidmarsh (W.) | 10 |
| NAPOLEON'S Campaigns | 13 | Townson (B.) | 14 |
| Niebuhr | 15 | Turner (E. J.) | 15 |
| Norris (J. P.) | 39, 40 | — (H.) | 11 |
| — | | — (J. A.) | 23, 26 |
| — | | VECQUERAY (J.) | 13, 14 |
| — | | Vergil | 22, 25 |
| — | | Viollet-le-Duc | 12 |
| — | | WAITE (R.) | 7 |
| — | | Wakeman (H. O.) | 7 |
| — | | Way of Life | 40 |
| — | | Webb (H. S. B.) | 15 |
| — | | Wharton (E. R.) | 32 |
| — | | Whitelaw (R.) | 9, 37 |
| — | | Woods (H. G.) | 35 |
| — | | Wordsworth (Bp.) | 38 |
| — | | Wormell (R.) | 19 |
| — | | Worthington (A. M.) | 16 |
| — | | XENOPHON | 34 |
| PAPILLON (T. L.) | 24, 27 | | |
| Parry (C. H.) | 12, 14 | | |
| Pellissier (E.) | 12 | | |
| Percival (J.) | 39 | | |
| Persius | 28 | | |
| Phillpotts (J. S.) | 9, 11, 14, 33, 34 | | |
| Powell (F. York) | 6 | | |
| Pretor (A.) | 27, 28, 32 | | |
| Purnell (E. K.) | 9 | | |
| Pusey (E. B.) | 40 | | |
| RANSOME (C.) | 6, 8 | | |
| Raven (J. H.) | 23, 25 | | |
| Reynolds (S. H.) | 35 | | |

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